

**LUMUMBA
SPEAKS=**

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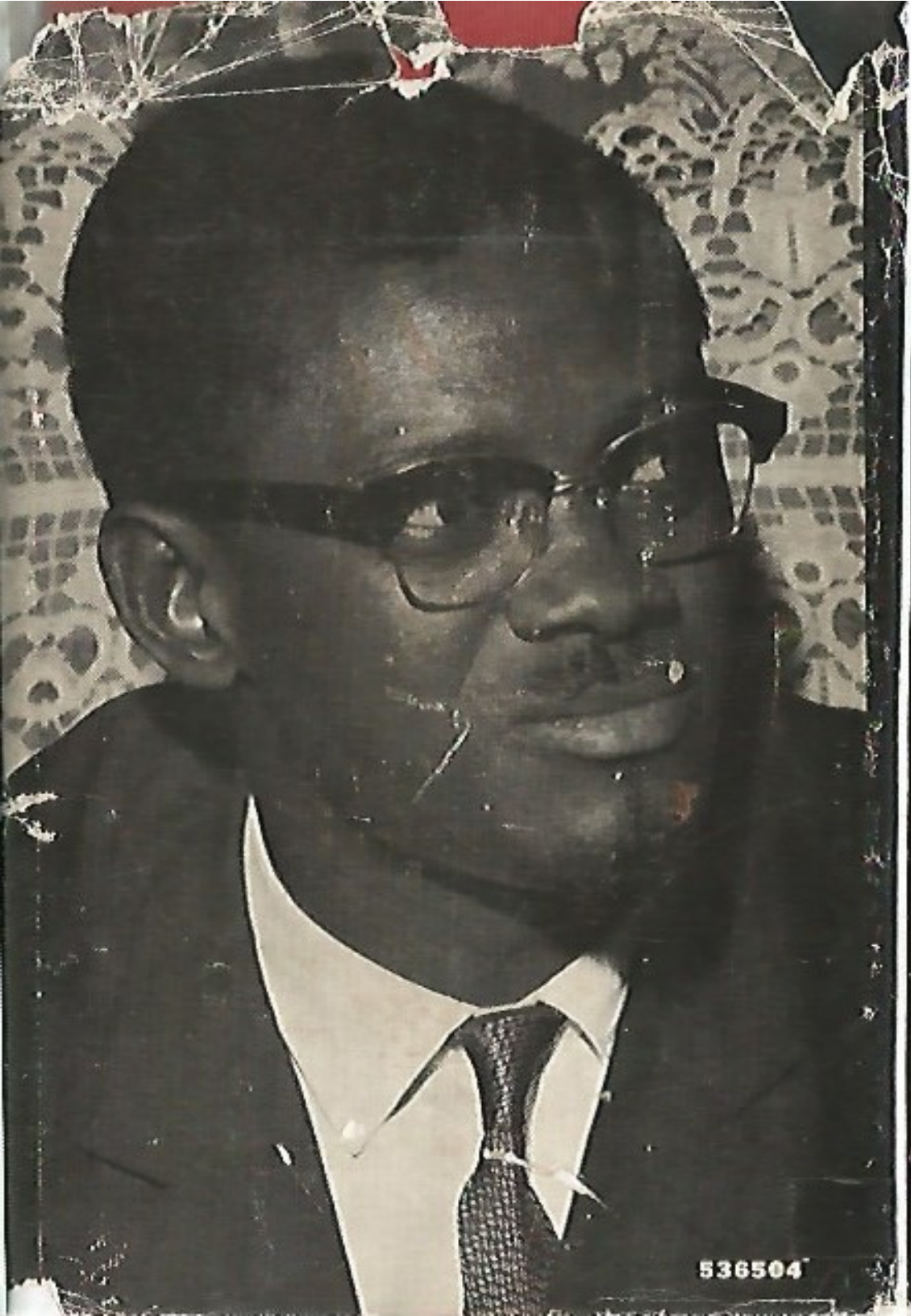
*The Speeches
and Writings
of Patrice
Lumumba
1958-1961*

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Introduction by

**JEAN-PAUL
SARTRE**

Jean Van Lierde. Translated from the French by Helen R. Lane



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Patrice Lumumba: The assassinated first Prime Minister of the Congo has long been a subject of violent controversy. To many Westerners he was an incompetent dupe; to most Africans, a heroic martyr. Now — Lumumba speaks for himself.

Lumumba Speaks is a brilliant collection of the African leader's speeches, letters, and essays from 1958 to his death in 1961. During this period, Lumumba's powers as a speaker became famous; he dazzled friend and foe alike with his ability to create electrifying speeches at a moment's notice. Through his words, arranged chronologically and with commentary by Jean Van Lierde, a dramatic history of the Congo unfolds, a turbulent record of the desperate struggle for economic and political independence against the machinations of business interests and the plottings of Lumumba's opponents.

Lumumba Speaks demonstrates an astonishing diversity of tone. He speaks soothingly to a white audience in Brussels; with benign confidence to a Pan-African conference in Accra about the inevitability of success; with passion to his people in the small towns while campaigning for independence; with righteous indignation to the King of Belgium at the independence ceremonies in June of 1960; with icy correctness to Dag Hammarskjöld, a man who Lumumba felt had failed him utterly; with sternness to a terrified Chamber of Deputies to rally them once more even as his government is collapsing; with cheerful

resignation and dignity to his wife from prison while awaiting death. In all these greatly different circumstances, Lumumba never betrays his vision of a unified Congo and Africa nor lowers the lofty heights he believed men could attain.

Accompanied by an extremely perceptive introduction by Jean-Paul Sartre that analyzes the background of Lumumba's rise to power and the elements that led to his downfall, this is a powerful portrait of a singular leader.

* * *

"The time for drawing up plans is now past. Africa today must act. The peoples of Africa are waiting impatiently for such action to begin. African Unity and Solidarity are no longer mere dreams; we must now embody them in concrete decisions.

"With one mind, one will, and one heart, we will soon make Africa, our Africa, a really free and independent continent.

"Long live African independence and unity!

"Forward, Africans, to total liberation!"

— Patrice Lumumba, August 25, 1960, Leopoldville

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LUMUMBA SPEAKS

The Speeches and Writings
of Patrice Lumumba, 1958-1961

Edited by Jean Van Lierde

Translated from the French by Helen R. Lane

Introduction by Jean-Paul Sartre



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Preface

We have brought together in this volume almost all of the important speeches and lectures delivered by Patrice Lumumba between December 1958 and his death in January 1961.

We have left these texts in chronological order so as to show the reader more clearly the extremely rapid political evolution of one country, the former Belgian Congo, which passed from domination by a colonialist regime to independence in a period of less than four years.

This anthology of texts by Patrice Lumumba sheds clear light on the history of that decolonization; we hear the voice of a man who, from the very beginning of Congolese political life, was unquestionably its most outstanding spokesman.

We shall not trace the story of his life; others have already endeavored to do so. We have intentionally chosen to present only his spoken words and certain documents representing the stands he took as political events unfolded. We have provided brief explanatory passages that will enable the reader to see the particular circumstances under which his remarks were made. For the detailed history of the facts themselves, special works must be consulted, the five volumes entitled *Congo 1959*, *Congo 1960*, and *Congo 1961*, for instance, published by the Centre de Recherche et d'Information Socio-Politiques in Brussels.

We thank the center for having assembled the great majority of these documents and for having passed on to us the texts of recorded speeches not previously published.

Patrice Lumumba was born on July 2, 1925, in Onalua, in the Katako-Kombe District of Sankuru, Kasai. He belonged to the Otetela Tribe. A third-class clerk in the District Revenue Office of the Postal Service, he began in 1952 to write for such periodicals as *La Croix du Congo* and *La Voix du Congolais*, to direct cultural clubs and groups, and to collaborate with researchers conducting scientific studies. Active first in the Cercle Libéral and later in the Association du Personnel Indigène de la Colonie (the labor movement of Congolese government employees), in October 1958 he was one of the founders of the Mouvement National Congolais (MNC, the Congolese National Movement), the first great supra-ethnic party in the Congo. At this time the only other party was the Abako, led by Joseph Kasavubu, which brought the Bakongos together on an ethnic basis in the province of Leopoldville.

December 1958 was the first date of major political importance in the Congo, for at this time Lumumba, Diomi, and Ngalula took part in the Accra Conference. There then followed the uprising of January 4, 1959, and the dazzling beginnings of the campaign to politicalize the country, which soon spread from one end of the Congo to the other and eventually won it its independence on June 30, 1960. Then a series of tragic events ensued, beginning on July 7 with the rebellion of the Force Publique* and the severing of diplomatic relations with Belgium, which was proclaimed an "aggressor."

Amid this unbelievable turmoil, Lumumba proved to be a more passionate orator than ever. The latter half of this volume traces the events of this period of great unrest that was to end in his tragic death.

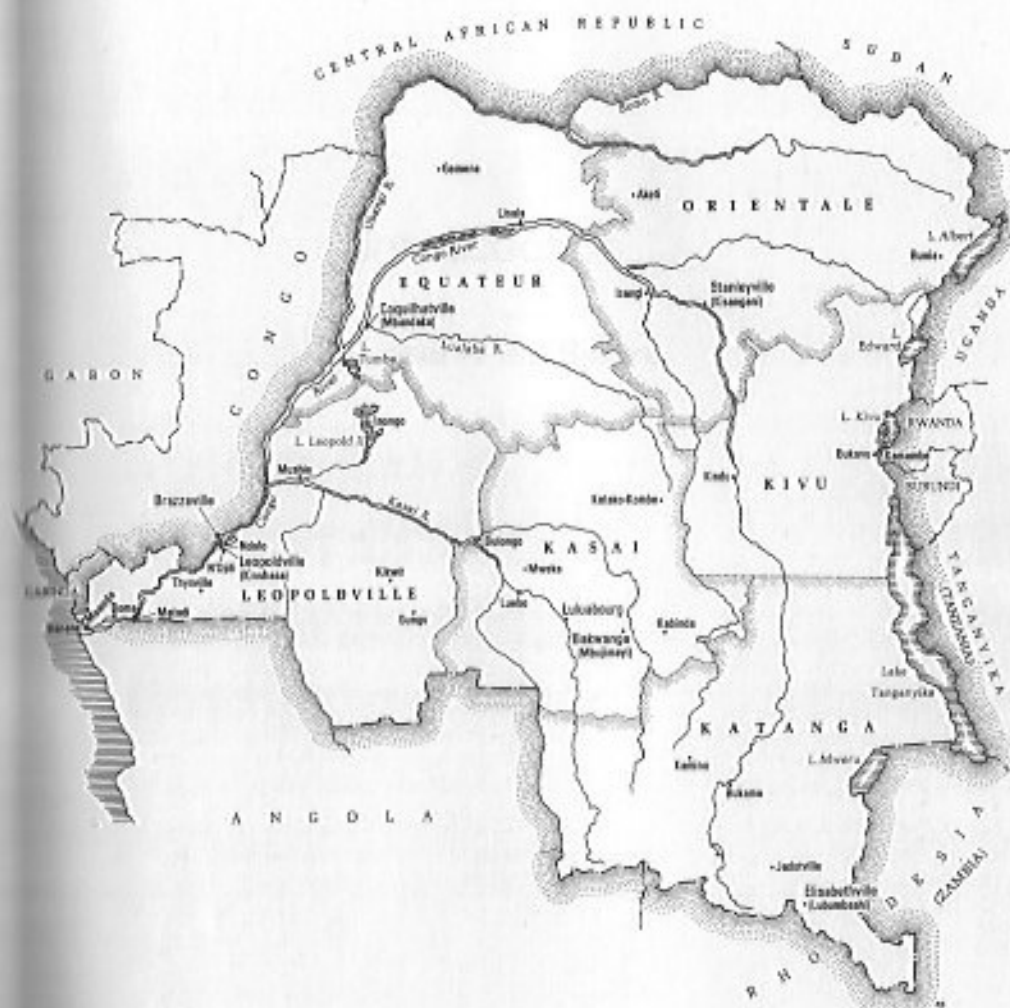
Lumumba was murdered in Katanga on January 17, 1961.

JEAN VAN LIERDE

* See note, page 10.

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REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO, 1960

The Undertaking

Lumumba, Fanon: these two great dead men represent Africa. Not only their nations: their entire continent. As we read their writings, as we decipher their lives, they might appear to have been two rabid enemies. Fanon, born in Martinique, the great-grandson of a slave, takes his leave of his native country at a time when it has not yet become aware of the Antillean personality and its urgent needs. He makes the cause of Algerian revolt his own and fights as a black alongside white Moslems. Swept along with them into a terrible and necessary war, he adopts the radicalism of his new brothers, becomes the theoretician of revolutionary violence, and stresses in his writings Africa's need to embrace socialism: without agrarian reform and the nationalization of colonial companies, independence is an empty word. Lumumba, the victim of Belgian paternalism — if there is no native elite there is no trouble — is not as cultured a man as Fanon, despite his enormous intelligence. On the other hand, he would seem on first reflection to have an advantage over him, in that his efforts to emancipate his black brothers and his homeland are rooted in native soil. He repeats a thousand times over that the movement that he has organized and become the unquestioned leader of is *nonviolent*, and despite certain provocative acts or certain local initiatives that he consistently disapproves of, the Congolese National Movement wins power through nonviolence. As for the problems of structure, Lumumba clearly outlined his position when he spoke before the *Présence Africaine* group: "We have been left no choice economically." By this he meant that *political* questions — independence, federalism — came first, that political decol-

onization had first to be successfully carried out in order to create the instruments for economic and social decolonization.

But far from quarreling with each other, these two men knew and loved each other. Fanon often spoke to me of Lumumba; though he was immediately on the alert when an African political party proved to be vague about reforming structures or reluctant to do so, he never reproached his Congolese friend for having been the straw man of colonialism, if only involuntarily. Quite the contrary: he regarded him as the stubborn adversary of any and every attempt on the part of a disguised imperialism to gain a new foothold. The one thing he chided him for — and we can appreciate how gentle a reproach it was — was his unshakable trust in his fellow man, which was at once his grandeur and his undoing. "He was shown proof that one of his ministers was betraying him," Fanon told me. "He sought him out, showed him the documents and reports, and said to him: 'Are you a traitor? Look me in the eye and answer me.' When the man denied that he was and looked him straight in the eye, Lumumba finally said: 'All right, I believe you.' " But this immense kindheartedness, which Europeans called *naïveté*, seemed to Fanon on this occasion to be an unfortunate thing; in and of itself, he was proud of it, seeing in it a basic trait of Africans. Several times this man who preached violence said to me: "We blacks are good men; we have a horror of cruelty. For a long time it seemed to me that Africans would not fight among themselves. Unfortunately black blood is flowing, blacks are causing it to flow, and it will continue to do so for a long time. The whites are pulling out, but their accomplices are still in our midst, and have been armed by them; the last battle of the colonial victim against the colonial master is oftentimes going to be a battle between the victims themselves." I am quite aware that Fanon the doctrinaire saw in violence the inescapable fate of a world fighting to free itself, but Fanon the man, deep down, hated it. The differences of opinion and the friendship of these two men are an index of both the contradictions that are ravaging Africa and the common need to transcend them through Pan-

African unity. And each of these two men, looking deep within himself, discovered both these agonizing problems and the will to solve them.

Everything still remains to be said about Fanon. Lumumba was better known; nonetheless he has kept many a secret to himself. No one has really tried to discover the causes of his failure or why the great capitalists and the banks so pitilessly fought a government whose leader stated repeatedly that he would neither touch invested capital nor seek investments from other sources. This is the purpose that reading these speeches will serve: they will enable us to understand why, even though his economic program was a very moderate one, the leader of the Congolese National Movement was regarded as a brother-in-arms by Fanon the revolutionary and a mortal enemy by the *Société Générale*.

He has been accused of playing a double and even a triple game. When he addressed an audience made up only of Congolese, he spoke with the greatest passion; if he saw that there were whites in the audience, he mastered his emotions and cleverly blew both hot and cold; in Brussels, speaking to Belgian audiences, he was prudent and deliberately charming, and his first concern was to reassure his listeners. Doubtless the same can also be said of all great orators: they size up their audience very quickly and know just how far they can go. The reader will also see that though the style of his speeches varies from one to the other, the content always remains the same. Doubtless Lumumba changed: the political opinions of the young author of *Is the Congo, the Land of the Future, Threatened?*, written in 1956, are not those of the mature young man who founds the Congolese National Movement. He may have dreamed for a moment of a Belgian-Congolese community, for reasons that we are about to discover. But after October 10, 1958, his mind is made up and his opinion a matter of public record; from that time on his views never change, and independence becomes his one aim.

What varies most, depending on what sort of audience he is addressing, is his view of Belgian colonization. He often emphasizes

its positive features — so complacently that at times we almost think it is a colonialist speaking: developing the resources of the soil and the subsoil, the work of educating the people being carried on by the missions, medical assistance, public health, and so on. Once he even goes so far as to thank Leopold II's troops for having delivered the Congolese from the "savage Arabs" who sold blacks into slavery! In such cases, he skips lightly over the cruel exploitation, the forced labor, the expropriation of blacks' property, the imposition of alien cultural patterns, the deliberate perpetuation of illiteracy, the bloody repressions, the racism of the colonialists: he is content merely to deplore the abuses of certain administrators or obscure little white colonists. But at other times the tone changes, as in the recorded speech he made on October 28, 1959, and even more important, on June 30, 1960, in his famous reply to King Baudouin: "The fate we endured for eighty years under a colonialist regime . . . our wounds are still too fresh and too painful for us to be able to erase them from our memory. . . ." Is this the same man speaking? Of course it is. Is he lying? Of course he is not. But if he puts before his listeners first one and then the other of these two diametrically opposed conceptions of the "colonizing" mission of Belgium, it is because they coexist within him and are evidence of the profound contradiction existing within what we are forced to call his class. Colonial exploitation, despite itself, brought new institutions to the Congo. In plain, everyday language, in the 1950s, 78 percent of the population were *coutumiers*, peasants ruled by chieftains and plagued by tribal quarrels, as against 22 percent who were *extra-coutumiers*, former peasants now living for the most part in cities. The administration did its utmost to keep the population ignorant, but it could not prevent this exodus from the countryside nor the swelling of the urban population nor proletarianization nor a certain difference in social status, resulting from the needs of the colonial economy, among the *extra-coutumiers*: a Congolese petty bourgeoisie made up of wage earners, minor civil servants, and tradesmen was being created. This very small "elite" — 150,000 peo-

ple out of 14 million — was at loggerheads both with the rural people, who were still clinging to their traditions and rivalries, under the thumb of tribal chieftains who had sold out to the administration, and with the workers, who were sometimes inclined to violence but had no real revolutionary organization, and therefore had a class consciousness that was still in an embryonic stage. The position of the black "petty bourgeoisie" was very ambiguous in the beginning, because even though it was persuaded that it was profiting from colonization, this profit enabled it at the same time to measure the iniquity of the system. As a matter of fact, its members — who were very young for the most part, since this class was a recent product of colonial evolution — were recruited by large companies or the administration, for as yet there was no one thirty years old who had been born a petty bourgeois.

Lumumba's father was a Catholic peasant; when his son was six, he took him with him to work in the fields. It was the Passionist Fathers who decided that the little boy should go to school; later, when Patrice was thirteen, Protestant missionaries stole him out from under the Reverend Fathers' noses. The boy and his father seem to have played no part in all this. Emile Lumumba did not approve when his son fell into the hands of the Swedish mission at the age of thirteen, but what could he do? Everything was decided without father or son having anything to say about it: the "Reverend Fathers" wanted to make him a catechist, and the more practical-minded Swedes wanted to teach him a trade that would enable him to get out of the peasant class and work for a wage and live on his own little plot of ground in one of the little villages that the whites had set up, as a *helper* of the white colonials. Patrice spent his childhood in the bush; we know how miserably poor the black peasants were; had these religious organizations not taken him in hand, this poverty would have been his lot, his only outlook on life. Did he realize from the start that the missions were recruiting agents for the colonial system? Probably not. Did he see that the conditions of rural life were, directly or indirectly, the product of colonial exploita-

tion? Probably he did not realize this either: around the time he was born, the government had begun to weigh the disadvantages of too obvious constraints and forced labor. It began attempting to interest the peasant in production, and encouraged individual ownership of land. Patrice considered the poverty-stricken self-sufficiency of his father in the lonely Congolese countryside as a state of nature: far from being the ones who were responsible for this, the whites were the nice men who were going to help get him out of it. Around this time, rather strange ideas about his situation must have been put into his head: worshiping Christ was the fee young Congolese paid the churches that taught them to read. The Fathers gave him a fierce urge to discover the causes of his misery, and at the same time the desire to resign himself to it. He noted this contradiction later in a poem:

*To make you forget you were a man
They taught you to sing God's praises.
And all these hymns, setting your calvary to rhythm,
Made you hope for a better world.
But in your heart as a human being, all you asked for
Was your right to live and your share of happiness.*

Religion makes you grovel as it emancipates you. And then it offers you salvation: the better world it holds out to you is a sham, but the religious authorities must necessarily teach that it can be entered through your merits regardless of the color of your skin. No matter how hard many men of the cloth try to hide the fact, the egalitarianism of the Gospel works as a destructive agent in the colonies. It has an effect not only on the children in catechism classes but on the missionary himself sometimes: whether out of a desire to forestall a Metropolitan Socialist party congress or out of conviction, or for both reasons together, in 1956 the missionaries of Scheut endorsed the manifesto of Iléo, a thirty-seven-year-old *évolué** who was calling for the eventual independence of the Congo. When at

* *Évolué*: an "educated native" who has "gotten somewhere." (Translator's note.)

the age of eighteen Patrice left the bush for Kindu, where the Symaf Company hired him as a file clerk, the event was at once part of the general trend toward an exodus from the countryside and a capital stage in one young man's growing self-awareness. A young peasant who has read Rousseau and Victor Hugo suddenly encounters the city; his standard of living is radically changed: he once went to school in a loincloth and now he goes to work in a suit; he once lived in a hut and now he lives in a house and earns enough money to buy Pauline, his Mututela fiancée, bring her to the city, and marry her. He works feverishly. The whites express surprise at his zeal: the Congolese, they claim, are usually lazy. But these dull-witted colonists do not understand that the notorious "laziness of the natives," a myth that is perpetuated in all colonies, is a form of sabotage; and the passive resistance of a peasant, the wily stratagem of a man who is being badly exploited. Patrice's fervor, on the contrary, for a time places him in the category of those whom he will later call "collaborators." This son of a peasant is now an *évolué* — he applies for an "immatriculation certificate" and has great difficulty obtaining it — there are only 150 blacks in the entire country who are "immatriculated." He eventually receives it, thanks to the intervention of whites: this means that he *bets on them*; he has become aware of his importance, that of the young "elite" being created all over the country. The *évolués* are forming a social stratum that is slowly becoming broader and broader and is an indispensable aid to the big companies and the colonial administration. A black, Patrice Lumumba takes greatest pride in his job, the education he has received, the books he has read, the vague respect shown him by the whites around him. It was this extraordinary yet common metamorphosis that he was thinking of when later he spoke of the benefits of colonization.

But his growing awareness is ambivalent and contradictory: at the same time that he is enjoying coming up in the world and basking in the esteem and good will of his bosses, he knows that at twenty he has already gone as far as he can go. He is higher up on

the ladder than any black, but he will always remain below any white. It is possible for him, of course, to earn a better salary, to become a third-class post office employee in Stanleyville after an apprenticeship. But what does that amount to? With the same qualifications and for the same work, a Belgian employee will get double his salary; what is more, Lumumba knows that after this brilliant start, the hare will suddenly turn into a tortoise: it will take him twenty-four years to work his way up to first class, where he will remain until he retires. The European starts off immediately in this rank and can hope to go on from there to the very highest positions. It is the same in the Force Publique:^{*} a "Negro" cannot go beyond the rank of sergeant. This is true in the private sector as well. Having gotten him up to the level they want him to attain, the whites will keep him there: his fate is in the hands of others. He lives his condition in pride and alienation. He catches a glimpse now and again of the naked class struggle that lies beyond his own personal situation; at the age of thirty-one he will write: "There is a real duel over salaries between employers and employees." But salaried évolués are not the proletariat: Lumumba's demands — like those of the anarcho-syndicalists at the end of the last century — stem from his awareness of his professional worth, and not from the need that in all parts of the globe gives rise to the demands of the proletariat and the sub-proletariat. About this time he begins to realize — especially once he goes to Leopoldville — that he has been hoodwinked: his "immatriculation," so painfully attained, cuts him off from blacks without making him like whites. The "immatriculated" native has no more right than the "nonevolved" black to enter the European district of the city unless he works there; he is as much subject to the curfew laws as they are; when he goes shopping, he meets them at the special cashier's window reserved for blacks; at all times, in all places, he is the victim, as they are, of segregationist practices. It must be noted that racism and segregation are a new experience for him: in

^{*} The Congolese colonial army, which performed both military and police functions. (Translator's note.)

the bush, he has already experienced poverty and undernourishment, and the truth of colonialism, which is extreme exploitation, can be glimpsed there; but there are few traces of racism, for there is little contact between blacks and whites. He may well have been taken in by the soft-spoken paternalism of the missionaries; discrimination, however, is practiced openly in the cities, and constitutes the daily life of the colonized. But the point must be underscored: the exhausted, underpaid proletariat suffers much more from being badly exploited than it does from the racist discrimination that is the consequence of this exploitation. When on June 30, 1960, Lumumba denounces the "back-breaking work exacted in return for wages that do not allow us to satisfy our hunger, or to decently clothe or house ourselves, or to raise our children," he is speaking for all blacks. But when he adds: "We have known that there were magnificent mansions for whites in the cities and ramshackle straw hovels for blacks, that a black was never allowed into the so-called European movie theaters or restaurants or stores; that a black traveled in the hold of boats below the feet of the white in his de luxe cabin," it is the class of évolués expressing itself through his voice. And when in 1956 he writes that "immatriculation should be considered the last step toward integration," he is defending the interests of a handful of men whom he is doing his share to cut off from the masses by his very words. The fact is that the interests of this elite, which was created out of whole cloth by the Belgians, require a greater and greater degree of assimilation as time goes by: equality of blacks and whites on the labor market, job openings for Africans on all levels as long as they have the necessary ability to do the work. As can be seen, he does not call for the Africanization of executive jobs, but their semi-Africanization. Should it not have been feared that in such a case those blacks allowed to hold higher-level jobs would become the accomplices of colonial oppression or at least its hostages? Lumumba is not yet aware of this problem. As a matter of fact, the very same year that Iléo demands eventual independence in his manifesto, Patrice is still busy mapping out a "Belgian-Congolese community."

He demands equal rights for all citizens within this community. But for a long time this equality is to work in favor only of the class of évolués: "We believe that it may be possible in the relatively near future to grant political rights to the Congolese elites and to the Belgians of the Congo, in accordance with certain criteria to be established by the government."

However, from this period on, Lumumba is the opposite of those whom he will later call "collaborators." The fact is that he is experiencing the inner conflict of his class in its most extreme form: since this class has been created out of whole cloth by the necessities of colonization, he knows that the undertakings of Belgian capitalism have cut it off from the masses and that its only future lies in the colonial system; at the same time his experience in the cities has led him to conclude that he has been definitely shut off from this future by the colonialists and the government. At the very moment he proposes such a "Belgian-Congolese community," he no longer believes in it: he has finally caught on to the rigidity of this system, which gave him his chance the better to exploit him. No reform is conceivable for the sole reason that colonialism perpetuates itself through constraint and disappears when it makes concessions. The one solution will be a revolutionary one: a complete break, independence. Iléo, as we have just seen, had demanded this before Lumumba. And Kasavubu too, the head of the powerful Abako party. Lumumba did not "invent" independence; others showed him how necessary it was. If he was nonetheless the promoter and the martyr of independence, that was because he wanted it to be total and absolute, and events did not allow him to bring this about.

As a matter of fact, most of the nationalist organizations that are coming into being at this time are set up within a regional framework: the African Solidarity party is formed in Kwango Kwilu, the Center of African Regroupment in Kivu. These parties manage — with great difficulty — to reconcile the differences between the various ethnic groups, but for this very reason it becomes hard for them to spread beyond the provinces. Their nationalism — when it exists

— is in fact federalism: they dream of a very limited central power whose principal function will be to unite provinces that are autonomous. In Leopoldville things go farther still: the numerical superiority of the Bakongos permits the Abako to be at once a regional and an ethnic party. To consider only the latter case, two things result from this: the Abako is a powerful but archaic movement, at once a secret society and a mass party; its principal leaders are évolués, but they are not cut off from the people because they have made the people's basic demand their own: immediate independence for the Lower Congo. Kasavubu, the top leader, is an enigmatic, secretive person, of whom it can be said both that he remained in direct contact with his ethnic base despite having been coopted by the government, and that he never had the means or the chance or the will to acquire a clear awareness of his own class: a seminarian who was not a believer and then later a schoolteacher, he has ties to the Bakongos that are obscure and messianic; he is their religious leader, their king, the living proof that they are *the Chosen People*. On being elected president of the Congo after independence, he will suddenly find himself living the most total sort of contradiction: his office requires that he preserve national unity and, most important, prevent the secession of Katanga, for it threatens to ruin the Congo; and at the same time his people demand that he himself become a secessionist and restore the old Kongo kingdom by wresting certain territories away from the French Congo. Incapable of controlling the situation, he will waver between an anarchical federalism and a dictatorial centralism based on military force. Above all, he will play imperialism's game, unconsciously at first and then very deliberately. It is not a case here of personal psychology, but of an objective factor: the Abako, which was separatist by its very nature, was to ruin the work of the nationalists for the benefit of foreign powers, after independence. At the time, however, when Lumumba was gradually acquiring a national awareness, *before* independence, this confused movement, at once obscurantist and revolutionary, had done more than any other party to bring the Congo its freedom. As early

as 1956, it answered Iléo's manifesto and Lumumba's reflections on "community" by demanding immediate independence and the *nationalization of the big companies*. It led people to believe that it had a revolutionary socialist program, or at the very least that the demands coming from its base reached the top, but as later events proved, this was not at all the case. The Abako was merely trying to go every other party one better: it had found it necessary to be the most radical party. And in truth it was just that, by the very fact that the Bakongos represented 50 percent of the black population in Leopoldville and provided the city's unskilled labor. They were disciplined and could be mobilized at any moment when word was secretly passed to them: they were the ones who went out on strike, who waged disobedience campaigns; if their leaders told them not to vote, not a one of them went anywhere near the polls. They were also the ones responsible for the uprisings in January 1959, though there is now no way of knowing whether they rioted because of strict orders to do so or despite definite orders not to do so. The évolués had no power over the masses except in the Lower Congo; their number and their way of life did not allow them to proceed to act directly. The fact must be recognized that they played a role of little importance in the events of January 1959. It was really the economic crisis — the colonial recession, which severely affected the mother country, and the agitation of the proletarianized masses, whose standard of living declined appreciably — together with the clumsy maneuvers of the administration, that made the government in Belgium suddenly give the Congo its independence, that is, replace a colonial regime with a neocolonial regime — with the approval of the big companies.

Lumumba was not responsible for the Congolese revolution; his position as an évolué, cut off from the urban proletariat and even more isolated from the countryside, prevented him from having recourse to violence. His resolve to be "nonviolent," which he kept till the very day he died, stemmed much more from a clear-sighted recognition of his limited power than from an article of faith or a

trait of character. From 1956 on he is the idol of the crowd in Stanleyville. But an idol is not a leader, as is N'Krumah, whom he admires, and still less a sorcerer, as is Kasavubu, who worries him. He knows this: he knows that he can sway an audience, thanks to his gift that enables him to speak anywhere to anybody and thanks to the education he has received from the Belgians and is now using as a weapon against them; but more than a way with words is required to make men attack machine guns bare-handed. Yet it is he who will seize upon revolution as it passes by, mark it with his seal, give it direction. Why? Because his situation as an assimilated native and the nature of his work enable him to attain universality. He has personal knowledge of what life is like in the bush, in little urban settlements, in large provincial cities and the capital; he escaped from provincialism forever at the age of eighteen. His reading and his Christian education have given him an image of man that is still abstract but free of racism: we are struck by the fact that in his speeches he explains the situation in the Congo by constant references to the French Revolution, to Holland's struggle against the Spaniards. And naturally, there is a sort of ad hominem argument in these allusions: how can you whites prevent blacks from doing exactly what you have done? But aside from these polemical intentions, he also speaks of a basic humanism that cannot help but be the ideology of the évolués: it is in the name of *homo faber*, in fact, that they demand equal opportunities for Belgians and Congolese in the labor market. This universal concept immediately places Lumumba above ethnic groups and tribalism: it enables this wanderer to profit from his travels and get to the bottom of local problems by looking at them from a universal point of view. It is this perspective that allows him to grasp — above and beyond the diversity of customs, the rivalries, and the discord — the unity of needs, interests, sufferings. The administration raised him above the common level: there is no doubt that this isolated him, but it also permitted him to understand the overall situation of the Congolese. From this point on, no matter what sort of audience he is addressing, he

constantly speaks of the unity of his country: what divides his countrymen are the vestiges of a precolonial past that is carefully perpetuated by the administration; what unites them, in a negative way at this point, is a certain common misfortune, which is deeper than tradition and custom because the overwork and undernourishment they suffer from affect the very wellsprings of their lives. In short, it is Belgian colonization that is creating a Congolese nation through perpetual and omnipresent aggression.

This is at once true and false. Colonization does unify the colonized, but it divides them at least as much: not only through calculated effort and Machiavellianism — that would be nothing — but also through the division of labor that it introduces and the social distinctions that it creates and stratifies. In the cities socioprofessional ties tend to be more important than tribal ties, but looked at more closely, differences created by one's job, one's standard of living, and one's educational level are just so many added factors on top of the ethnic divisions in the black sections. In addition, there are the conflicts dividing those who first came to the cities and those urbanized at a later date. The proletariat in the countryside is not that of the cities, and above all the peasants, under the thumb of chieftains who are conservative and who have usually sold out to the Europeans, are not taken into account by évolués. But the emerging petty bourgeoisie must necessarily commit the same error as the French bourgeoisie at the time of the revolution. Confronted with an unorganized proletariat whose demands are vague, and with a peasantry from which it has emerged and whose aspirations it thinks it is well aware of, it takes itself to be the universal class. The only differentiation it is willing to take into account is not an economic one: the members of the new elite define themselves, as the colonial administration hopes they will, by the amount of education they have had; the culture they have acquired is their pride and their most intimate substance: the best of them believe it their absolute duty to lead their illiterate brothers out of the countryside and the bush and guide them toward autonomy or independence. I would say that

this illusion is inevitable: how could Lumumba — who went to the "Reverend Fathers' " school in a loincloth and was loyal to his peasant attachments till the day he died — really consider himself to be the representative of a new class? If he had a better life now, it was because he had earned it. That despicable and very cleverly chosen colonialist word for educated natives — *évolués*, those who have "evolved" — hides the truth: a small stratum of privileged blacks takes itself to be the advance wing of the colonized. Everything conspires to delude Lumumba: in August 1956 the demands of the évolués at the general congress of the Association of Native Personnel of the Colony receive the unanimous support of the delegates. He sees in this accord of the masses and the elite a sign of the profound unity of the Congolese. In the light of subsequent events, we know today that the mutual harmony was abstract. The native masses are proud of their évolués, who prove to everyone that a black can equal or surpass a white if given the chance; they support the demands of the privileged elite — by their words in particular and by their applause — because they take them to represent a radical stand of the exploited in the face of their employers. These demands are an example and a symbol, and once they have been made, the delegates can foresee a radicalization of the demands of common laborers. But when circumstances finally bring about this radicalization, the alliance between the masses and the petty bourgeoisie is immediately shattered as a result.

Lumumba was mistaken in this regard, but the inevitable error on his part had positive results: in a word, he was *right* to commit it, from the point of view of history. This mistake allowed him to preach forcefully the message that unity alone would bring the Congo its independence. That formula, which he so often repeated, is perfectly correct, moreover, if one proviso is added: the movement for unity must come from the base and wash over the country like a flood tide. Unfortunately for the Congo, the social divisions, the timid nature of the demands made, the absence of a revolutionary apparatus with roots in the masses and controlled by them, made it

impossible for the movement to spread, and it is still impossible today: it will be the history of the coming decade. Lumumba, who was enthusiastically listened to all over the country, had every reason to believe that the masses would follow the évolués to the very end. The unity that he took to be both something already achieved and something not yet even begun, half a means and half a supreme end, was in his eyes the nation itself. The nation: the Congo becoming unified through the struggle it would wage for its independence. But the future prime minister is not so naïve as to believe that the unity of the nation will come about spontaneously. He simply poses this negative principle: the administration divides in order to rule, and therefore the only way of taking its power away from it is to do away with every last division that it has created in the country. The tribalism, the provincialism, the artificial conflicts, and the watertight compartments that it perpetuates must be done away with. Democracy, yes. But democracy must not be confused with federalism, as Iléo had done. Whatever its aim, however minimal the regional autonomy that any one party demands, federalism is the worm in the fruit that will spoil everything, for imperialism will immediately exploit it. Lumumba realizes that the Abako will be a remarkable tool for toppling the colonial system for some time to come and will later threaten to become the best weapon for restoring it. Lumumba's job as a post office employee gives him a place in the colonial administration and enables him to discover its principal feature: centralization. The fact that he happens to be a cog in the centralized system of communications allows him to make this discovery even more easily. The postal network extends to every province, and even into the bush; through it, the governor's orders are transmitted to the local constabularies, to the Force Publique. If the Congolese nation some day comes into existence, it will owe its cohesiveness to a similar form of centralism: Patrice dreams of a unifying power that will rally all the people, acting everywhere, bringing harmony, a community of action, throughout the country, receiving information from the most remote hamlet, collating this information and using it

as the basis of a political policy, sending information and orders to the representatives of this power back by the same route to the tiniest hamlet. The government splits the colonized into individual atoms and unifies them *from the outside*, as subjects of the same king. Independence will be merely an empty word unless the cohesion *imposed from the outside* is replaced by unification *from the inside*. The Belgian administration can be replaced only by a mass party that, like it, is omnipresent, and at the same time democratic — that is to say, emerging from the people and controlled by them. But until such time as the Congo has created its own free institutions, this party will be even more authoritarian in that it alone will be responsible for defending the nation against the still virulent effects of a policy of atomization that has been practiced for eighty years. Lumumba is so conscious of the dangers that he wants to substitute a single party for the pointless multiplicity of nationalist movements. We have very little information about his plans in this connection. We do know, however, that it was to be an *African-style* party: not a restricted entity that coopts its new members, as the Communist party of the USSR does, but the entire population, men and women both, each of them being *at one and the same time* a citizen and a militant. He feared that if the opposition remained outside the party, it might lead to some sort of separatism, and therefore to the death of the Congo. He would not have rejected such opposition within the party. He stated repeatedly that discussions within it would be frank and open. What he did not say, but what is self-evident, as in all cases of extreme emergency, was that once a vote had been taken, minorities would be forced to adopt the point of view of the majorities; and that the opposition, which each time would be dissolved only to be reborn at some other point in connection with other problems, would represent, in the last analysis, only the free exercise of judgment of each and all in a given set of circumstances, and would be deprived of the means of becoming a continuing tradition, of setting itself up as a party within the party.

He attached less importance — at least in the first days of independence — to the setting up of an economic and social program than he did to the primordial function of the party as a new claw gripping the Congo in place of the former colonial talon, preventing the country from falling apart at any price. But this very concern had economic reasons behind it: he was fully aware of the maneuvers of the Conakat* and had no doubt whatsoever what the result of Katangese secession would be. Thus this political Jacobinism was at bottom inspired by his practical knowledge of Congolese realities. His speeches are proof that he foresaw everything that has happened since: his only mistake was to believe it possible to ward off disaster by creating a great modern party that would eventually replace the power of coercion of the occupiers.

It is well known that the mother country served, very much in spite of itself, as the meeting place for Congolese from different ethnic groups during the World's Fair.† The unity of their white oppressors enabled these blacks isolated in Brussels to discover, in a defensive sort of way, their unity as men who are oppressed, a unity that appears to them to be stronger than the many things that divide them. As a matter of fact, in Belgium the Congolese are aware only of the interests they have in common. Returning home, they continue to cherish the abstract hope of binding all the colonized, whatever their origins, into a supra-ethnic party. Lumumba is the only person capable of founding such a party, to be known as the Congolese National Movement. But the membership of the movement soon reveals its real nature: it is universalist, disregarding ethnic groups and boundaries, because its militants are universalized; in a word, it is a movement of évolués. Militants will be recruited throughout the country, more or less, without too much difficulty — at least in the cities — because the administration and the big companies have scattered the minor civil servants and employees they have trained all over the Congo. But the dream of forming a mass party

* Political party headed by Moïse Tshombe.

† Held in Brussels in 1958.

fades away: at best it is a party of agitators and organizers. It is no one's fault, for it could not have been otherwise; the Congolese National Movement is the petty bourgeoisie of the Congo discovering its class ideology.

Lumumba is the most radical of its leaders: at once clear-sighted and blind, he may not see the social factors conditioning his unitarian movement and how impossible such unity is; he nonetheless understands very well that the problems of the Congo are those of all of Africa, and sees even more clearly that his country will be strong enough to survive independence only within the framework of a free Africa. He attends the Accra Conference as a representative of the Congolese National Movement. He delivers a speech and makes the following comments on this need for unity, arising here and there all over the continent, of which the Accra meeting is the direct effect:

"This conference . . . reveals one thing to us: despite the boundaries that separate us, despite our ethnic differences, we have the same awareness, the same soul plunged day and night in anguish, the same anxious desire to make the African continent a free and happy continent that has rid itself of unrest and of fear and of any sort of colonialist domination."

Replace the word *Africa* by the word *Congo*, the word *continent* by the word *nation*, and you will find here the same phrases that Lumumba repeats day after day in each of the provinces of his country: this is because the Congo seems to him to be a compendium of all the differences perpetuated by the various African separatisms: within it are to be found provincial boundaries, ethnic and religious conflicts, economic differentiations that are both vertical (the various social strata) and horizontal (the geographical distribution of resources). In his eyes there is therefore but one task: to fight for independence is to fight for national unity. But it is at the same time to fight for a free Africa, and conversely — as he will make even plainer later — everything that furthers the integration of the many various states in a single federation hastens the day when the last

victims of colonialism will rid themselves of their last colonizers. The events that followed show that his view on this point was practical and extremely clear: those states which had secured their independence must help those countries still enslaved to reject any sort of guardianship, by every means possible. It is common knowledge that two and a half years later he was to call for the help of Ghanaian troops when he felt that the frail Congolese Republic was about to fall apart. If he had won his battle, there is no doubt that the Congo would have aided Angola and all the neighboring countries: Lumumba's forthright Pan-Africanism made him some of his most deadly enemies, the whites of Rhodesia and South Africa, and in a more underhanded way, the English conservatives. A Pan-African Congo would have been first of all an example; it would have planted fertile seeds in the hearts of those still enslaved. But above all, this great country would have provided the most effective kind of support, in a hundred different ways, for revolutionary organizations in the neighboring countries. Not only out of brotherhood but also because this was the only African policy that could possibly be followed: once free, the Congo would be surrounded by mortal enemies: the blacks in Rhodesia, in Angola, would have to break their chains, and Youlou's neocolonialist government would have to be overthrown or else the Congo would be plunged into slavery again. What Lumumba merely hints at — though we know he realized it immediately — is that Congolese independence is not the end but the beginning of a struggle to the death to win national sovereignty. The Belgians can be made to pull out through the efforts of an organization *within* the country; once they have left, however, the danger can be averted only by a *foreign* policy, for the young nation, having lost its masters without having found the means to exercise its freedom, will be forced to depend on the help of states not so young that have already attained their sovereignty, and will be obliged to support national movements in the colonies bordering it. In the speech he delivers at the Accra Conference, Lumumba therefore stresses the reciprocal effect of the two aims that finally emerge from

the deliberations of the conference, which in his mind are but one, and rightly so: "The struggle against all those internal and external factors standing in the way of the emancipation of our respective countries and the unification of Africa." He is too deeply involved in the political struggle for liberation to stress the most basic problem confronting Pan-Africanism: the fact that a united Africa cannot be created without establishing an African market *for itself*. The organization of a common market for blacks on a continental scale involves other problems and other battles: it is not time yet for the Congolese National Movement to contemplate them. Nor is it yet time to unveil and unravel the mystification lying hidden beneath the magic word *independence* in many countries, in the French Congo for instance; especially since by pronouncing this word in Brazzaville this same year, de Gaulle has aroused enormous enthusiasm in the Belgian colony and with one stroke caused even the most hesitant to rally round and support those demands that go the farthest. But even aside from this, what Lumumba lacks is a thoroughgoing knowledge of the new nations and their infrastructures, and because he does not have such knowledge, he will learn too late that certain black states are by their very nature the sworn enemies of Congolese independence. Above all, because his experience has been shaped by the most severe sort of oppression and the most despicable sort of segregation, he is unable to envisage any other enemy except the old colonialism, an antique piece of machinery so rigid that it must either crush everything in its way or crack apart. It is against this machinery that he girds himself for battle: in fact, it is there before his very eyes, represented by the obscure little colonist and by the colonial administration. But the black leader does not suspect that this ogre, apparently still so full of life and so wicked, is in reality already dead, that the imperialist governments and the big companies have decided, once confronted with the colonial crisis, to liquidate the classic forms of oppression and the ossified and harmful structures set up in the course of the preceding century. He does not know that the mother countries that have been in control want to

give nominal power to the "natives," who will govern, more or less consciously, in such a way as to further colonial interests; he does not know that the accomplices or the straw men for the job have already been handpicked in Europe, that they all belong to the class that has been recruited and trained by the colonial administration, to the petty bourgeoisie of company employees and minor functionaries, to his own class. This lack of insight will send him to his doom. He is one of the elite, it is true, and thus cut off from the masses that he supposedly represents. His militants are all petty bourgeois; if he wins, they are the ones with whom he will form the first government. But his intelligence and his deep devotion to the African cause will make him a black Robespierre. His undertaking is at once limited — it is first of all political, and the rest will follow in time — and universal. The "Reverend Fathers" snatched him out of the peasant world of the "nonevolved": in the beginning his head swam with ideas he had been exposed to in school at an early age, and once he became the spokesman of the elite, he demanded that it be totally integrated. But in the end universalism carried the day in his mind. Doubtless it is an ideological principle of his class and, as we have seen, an optical illusion. But this humanism, which in others masks narrow class interests, becomes his personal passion; he becomes completely devoted to it and seeks to give the subhuman victims of colonial exploitation back their inborn humanity. This cannot be done, of course, without a total reform of all the structures, without, in short, agrarian reform and nationalization; but his education as a bourgeois democrat prevents him from seeing the need for such fundamental restructuring. This is not all that serious however: how could he have seen this when there were no proletarian organizations to channel and clarify the people's political demands? Had he remained in power longer, men and circumstances would have driven him into a corner and forced him to choose: neocolonialism or African socialism. Let us have no doubts as to what his choice would have been. By founding the Congolese National Movement, by making contact with the leaders of other parties — that is to say,

with other évolués — he unfortunately left the field wide open, without in the least suspecting it, to the most active elements of his own class: men whose common and personal interests had long since made them both willing and able to betray him, and who were convinced as early as the first days in July 1960 that he had betrayed them. As a matter of fact, this is the precise source of the conflict that forced him to fight it out with his ministers and the minority in Parliament: these petty bourgeois wanted to make their class the ruling class — and *objectively* this came down to a rapprochement with the imperialist powers. He wanted to be a guide, thought he belonged to no one class, and refused, in his zeal to centralize power, to take economic differentiations either more or less seriously than tribal divisions: a single party would cause these barriers to come tumbling down like the others and would reconcile the interests of all. What is more, he may have had more or less definite plans to reorganize the economy by stages and prudently kept his intentions a secret. He was suspected of this, at any rate; and it was not only the business of asking for Russian planes that caused him to be accused of communism. The most farsighted ministers and members of Parliament believed, certainly, that his Jacobinism might lead to socialism simply because he believed in a thoroughgoing humanism. What matters, in any case, is that he put his class in power and was ready to rule against it and despite it. Could it have been otherwise? No: during the last years of the colonial regime the proletariat had not engaged in any act that might cause these petty bourgeois to think of it as a voice that ought to be heard in the debate.

The Reasons for Lumumba's Failure

On his return from Accra, the leader of the future single party becomes a symbol of reconciliation: under his influence the Congolese National Movement attempts to ally itself with the principal nationalist movements. The Common Front that he sets up wins the elections in 1960. But its victory at the polls in a legal election should not bind us to its fragility: as long as it was merely a question

of a simple propaganda campaign waged in common, of an accord limited to the one rallying cry of *independence*, all partisan interests could be put aside for the moment. But though the winners take over the reins of government — who else is there to run the country? — the front threatens to fly apart for two reasons that have already been mentioned: the real base of the allied parties is in every case provincial — even the Lumumba-Congolese National Movement is supported first and foremost by the ex-peasants of Stanleyville; and second, their cultural universalism can scarcely conceal their leaders' desire to make themselves and their followers the new ruling class. From this point on, Lumumba's purity and integrity doom him: history is made by him, but it also acts against him. He is the unquestioned leader of centralism, and his enemies come out in the open the moment he gives proof of his power as a public speaker and his skill as a negotiator. The first of his enemies to declare themselves are Tshombe and the members of the Conakat. These Katangese maintain that their province has to support the entire nation all by itself; if the ties binding it to other unproductive and poverty-stricken regions are severed, it can keep its riches all to itself. Next there comes the inevitable breaking away of the centralist party: Kalonji founds the Kalonji-Congolese National Movement, which takes over South Kasai; by contrast with the situation in the other groups, in this case it is political rivalries that make for ethnic separatism. The Abako party, finally, remains unmoved: Lumumba makes repeated advances to Kasavubu, who does not respond. When independence is won and a government must be set up, two great forces still confront each other: the Abako, which is as intransigent as ever, and the Nationalist Bloc (the Congolese National Movement and the parties allied with it), which is flexible and determined to reach a lasting compromise. The Conakat, which maintains that it is a federalist party, is the first to agree to take part, with certain provisos, in a central government: but this is merely a ploy, the real aim of which should be obvious. The Belgian minister, Ganshof, cannot make up his mind which of the two blocs to back. Lu-

mumba has helped maintain public order during the recent uprisings; his declarations are moderate in tone; he has no economic program, and he has said a hundred times that he will guarantee the safety of the property of the colonials. And then there is one other small detail: his group has won the majority of votes in the election. But his centralism is vastly to be feared. The colonials are *against him*. Kasavubu is perhaps even more dangerous, however. He can control the violence, but he also pulls the strings of discord; his federalism is a cover-up for the passionate separatism of his tribe. The minister's first move is to entrust Lumumba with "an information-gathering mission, for the eventual purpose of forming a Congolese government." The length and the ponderousness of this formula is a fair proof of its author's embarrassment. Lumumba gives proof of his absolutely realistic appraisal of the situation when he simplifies it by stating: "I am charged with forming a government." But on the 17th [of June], Ganshof declares that he is relieving Lumumba of his "information-gathering mission" and turning it over to Kasavubu. There are further consultations, which lead nowhere. On the 21st, the Legislative Chamber chooses its officers and the Nationalist Bloc proves to be the majority party. Poor Ganshof immediately takes Kasavubu's mission away from him and turns it over to Lumumba again. Negotiations begin once more, but Kasavubu proves to be just as stubborn as ever: on June 22, the Abako again calls for "the constitution of an autonomous and sovereign Bakongo state within a united Congo federation." We know what compromise is finally arrived at: the Abako is to appoint the chief of state and the ministers; the Nationalist Bloc is to appoint the prime minister and the remainder of the government team, except for those posts to be filled by the Conakat. These birth pangs shed light on two facts of great importance. The negotiations, first of all, are seen to have taken place under the threat of a Bakongo uprising. Lumumba's power was merely parliamentary; Kasavubu's was real and massive. As long as Belgium was still a presence in the Congo, Ganshof was obliged to take the elected majority in Parliament into con-

sideration; no course was open to Belgium except to set up a caricature of bourgeois democracy in its former colony. *After the departure of the Belgians*, votes were not important: Lumumba was thrown out of office and arrested without ever having lost his majority. In other words, democracy was simply rejected out of hand: the trappings were retained, but power was based on sheer force. There is no better proof that Lumumba's fate was sealed in advance. As prime minister, his headquarters and seat of power should have been the capital of the new state. But by a rare stroke of misfortune, it so happened that the capital was separatist: the masses in Leopoldville recognized only one leader, Kasavubu. Between a chief of state who rules the Abako as master and a populace whose one goal is secession, a centralist prime minister can play only one role: that of hostage. Lumumba has loyal followers in all the provinces, but in order to communicate with them he must go either through the Belgian administration, which is still on the scene and still bringing all its force of inertia to bear against him, or through the black functionaries of Leopoldville, the majority of whom are against him. After July 1, 1960, centralism becomes the abstract dream of a prisoner of honor who has lost all hold over the country. The Congolese become aware of this in the last two weeks of September, when Lumumba, who has now been thrown out of office, rides through the streets of Leopoldville in a car with loudspeakers mounted on the roof: his appeals sway no one. The people in the streets are indifferent or hostile, their faces impassive: the people of Leopoldville don't care in the slightest about centralism. On the other hand, it takes only one word whispered by Kasavubu to set anti-Lumumba rioters loose in the city by the thousands: little by little the members of Parliament become worried and desert the assembly hall; the legislative power bows before illegality without a murmur. For the deputies as for the prime minister, the secessionist capital is a prison. Things have reached such a pass that later, at the end of his rope and finally realizing that the game has been lost in Leopoldville, Lumumba flees the city and himself becomes a separatist, desperately trying to

reach Stanleyville, his fief. What I mean to say is that this was a provisory secession, a negation of negation; Lumumba was counting on regrouping his forces and using Stanleyville as his headquarters for the reconquest of the Congo, whether by peaceful or violent means, and its reunification. But even if he had managed to rejoin the largest group of his followers, is it likely that he would have been able to recapture the Bakongo capital without striking a blow? With what forces? It seems most probable that Lumumba would have remained in Stanleyville without either winning or losing and that Kasavubu would have reaped the credit of having labeled this return of centralism to its geographical roots a "provincial secession." Objectively, as a matter of fact, the undertaking would have divided the Congolese even further and broken up the country even more, since Lumumba lacked sufficient means to carry it through to the very end. It must be admitted, however, that at this point Lumumba had only two alternatives: he could either accept federation and the autonomy of the Lower Congo, or flee to Stanleyville to prepare to win the country back. In either case federalism would win the day. The truth is that federalism had won the battle before it even began. In politics what is *necessary* is not always what is *possible*. Unity, the powerful idea behind the Congolese National Movement, a modern party and one conceived in the image and likeness of European movements, was *necessary* to the Congo: without it, independence was a dead letter. But at this moment in its history, the European formula did not really seem to the Congolese to fit their needs; simpler and more solid ties bound them to their native soil, to their ethnic group. *Centralization* represented only the class consciousness of the *centralized*, that is to say the *évolués*.

These remarks lead us to the second characteristic feature of Congolese independence: it was an independence that had been more or less *freely granted* them. In fact, had the Congolese had to *fight* for it, it would have been inconceivable for Minister Ganshof, simply because he was the Belgian minister, to have chosen the Congolese best qualified to form a government. Lumumba was aware

of this and suffered because of it: several times before June 30, he insisted that the Belgian minister leave. At a press conference, he stated: "Nowhere in the world have we ever seen the former [colonial] power organize and oversee the elections marking the independence of a country. There is no precedent for this in Africa. When Belgium *forcibly* won its independence in 1830, it was the Belgians themselves who first set up a provisional government. . . ."

Forcibly won: the italics are mine, because this is the whole point; this is what explains the paternalistic tone of the speech King Baudouin made on June 30: we're making you a present of a nice little toy; don't break it. It also explains the apathy of Kasavubu, who had learned what the king's speech was going to be like and limited himself to cutting an overly servile peroration out of his own speech. Indignant at this, Lumumba suddenly grabbed the microphone. We are all familiar with the admirable "statement of the reasons for our bitterness" that he proceeded to deliver in reply to the smug young king. But this is not the heart of the matter, which I for my part find in the lines that immediately precede it:

"Though this independence of the Congo is today being proclaimed through mutual agreement with Belgium, a friendly country with which we are dealing as one equal deals with another, no Congolese worthy of the name can ever forget that we fought to win it, a fight waged each and every day, a passionate and idealistic fight, a fight in which there was not one effort, not one suffering, not one privation, not one drop of blood that we ever spared ourselves."

The stenographic record bears the notation "applause" at this point, which is sufficient proof that the speaker had struck a sensitive nerve. No matter what their party, the Congolese who attended the ceremony did not want to be handed a gift: freedom cannot be given; it must be forcibly taken. To turn these terms around, it can be seen that an independence that is conceded is merely slavery in another guise. The Congolese had suffered for almost a century; they had often been beaten, and strikes and uprisings had become more and more frequent despite cruel repression. Just a short time before, the

disturbances of January 1959 had been, if not the cause, at least the occasion of the Belgian government's new colonial policy. There is no doubting either the courage of the proletariat and of the peasant warriors, or the profound, the absolute, refusal of each and every colonized Congolese to accept colonization, sometimes despite himself. The fact remains, however, that circumstances neither permitted nor favored a recourse to *organized* struggle. In Vietnam, in Angola, in Algeria, the people were organized for armed struggle; it was a popular war. In Ghana, N'Krumah claimed to be using political means to carry on the fight; as a matter of fact, the strikes he organized were nonbloody acts of violence. In any event the struggle is organized *in the heat of battle and secretly*: the unity of all those who are fighting becomes the immediate means that makes action possible before being the remote end of such action. Those fighting unite in order to win a skirmish, but also to escape the perils of death: reprisals by the colonial power put the seal on secret pacts. Violence is brought to bear at one and the same time against the enemy and against the particular interests playing the enemy's game; if the group organized is armed, it blows off locks and door hinges, liquidates the enemy leaders, the "tribal chieftains," and wipes out feudal privileges, everywhere replacing the officials put in positions of power by the administration with its own political cadres, *as the struggle is going on*. At the same time a popular war implies the unity of the army and the people, and therefore the unification of the people themselves: tribalism must disappear or the insurrection will be drowned in a sea of blood; the liquidation of these vestiges is carried out during the struggle, through persuasion, through political education, and if necessary through terror. Thus the struggle itself, as it spreads from one end of the country to the other, is aimed at unifying it; and if two insurrectional movements happen to coexist at the beginning and do not merge forces, either they will both be massacred by the colonial army or else one of them is sure to annihilate the other. Once the battle is won, the leaders are at once soldiers and politicians: they have shattered the old structures

and everything must be rebuilt from the ground up, but it does not matter; they will create *popular* infrastructures; their institutions will not be a copy of European ones; as mere stopgaps their aim will be to ward off the dangers threatening the young state by reinforcing unity at the expense of traditional freedoms. As for the power of the executive, it is irresistible: it is the army that has been created by fighting the oppressors. From this point of view, it can be said that in Vietnam, in Algeria — whatever the present difficulties of these countries — unity and centralization preceded independence and were its guarantee. In the Congo, the opposite was the case. The economic recession, the evolution of what had been the French Congo, and the Algerian war changed people's minds and brought disturbances. But these uprisings were never concerted efforts: they did not have the same causes or the same reasons for being or the same aims. They were seen by the Belgian government as *signs*. This government was kept informed by a handful of clear-sighted officials: we have not yet gotten to the point of terrorism, but that point will be reached tomorrow if the mother country does not clearly define its policy, they reported. These reports came at a time when imperialism had learned a few lessons from the colonial wars that exhausted France and from the British experiments in sham decolonization. Belgium did not want to turn the Congo into a black Algeria; it refused to throw billions of francs and tens of thousands of lives down the drain. This country with its hundred thousand whites could scarcely be considered a densely populated colony: if repatriation became necessary, it would not disturb the economy of the mother country. As for the big companies, they were willing to give the thing a try: as long as they were protected by a white government or by a black "collaborator," their interests would not suffer; it even seemed, when the development of the new African states was examined closely, that independence was the most profitable solution. So the Congo was to be given its independence.

It is said today that the Belgian government acted with criminal Machiavellianism. It seems to me, rather, that it was criminally

stupid. The French let nothing get away from them without putting up a stiff fight; they hang on till they get their hands cut off; but this is to create cadres for the enemy involuntarily; war sets its own elite. The English had carefully planned their sham decolonization; they trained the cadres a long time beforehand; they were to be "collaborators," but *capable* ones. The Belgians did nothing: there was no colonial war, and no gradual transition. To tell the truth, by 1959 it was too late to prepare for Congolese emancipation: the colonized were demanding immediate independence. But the government's error went much farther back in time: it lay in its stubborn attempt to keep this conquered country ignorant and illiterate, in its desire to perpetuate feudal practices, rivalries, "traditional structures," the colonialist law of the land. For eighty years Belgium devoted much effort to congolizing the Congo. And then after having divided it up into isolated atoms, it suddenly decided to abandon it, certain that the absence of trained personnel and the fragmentation of power would put the Congo at its mercy. Lumumba thus found himself at one and the same time delegated by the masses and put in power by Ganshof in the name of the king of the Belgians. An uncomfortable situation, especially if we remember that Ho Chi-Minh or Ben Bella, backed by an irresistible movement, took power *despite* the mother country, and that their sovereignty — or to put it another way, the sovereignty of the nation, which amounts to the same thing — was a result of this fact. Instead of independence being, as in Vietnam or Algeria, one stage in a *praxis* begun a long time before, and instead of past acts serving as a trampoline for future undertakings, in the Congo it was a moment of absolute inertia, the zero point of Congolese history, the moment when the whites no longer rule but continue to run the country, when the blacks are in power but do not yet rule. At this contradictory moment, Lumumba, however great his popularity may be, does not owe his authority to any past deeds on his part but rather to a legality imported from Europe, one that — with the exception of the *évolués* — the Congolese do not recognize. We admire his

courage, certainly; we know that he was arrested, beaten, and thrown in prison several times. But that is not enough. To be sovereign in a new state, one has to have been during the time of oppression the unquestioned leader of the liberation army, or else have had a charismatic, religious power that reaches far back in time. Unfortunately, it is Kasavubu who has this sort of power in Leopoldville. We must understand the situation: on July 1, 1960, Lumumba, the leader of a majority coalition and the head of government, is alone and powerless, betrayed by one and all and already doomed.

As I have stated before, when a people frees itself by force, it expels or massacres the old cadres who represent in its eyes only the best known of its oppressors. They must be hastily replaced; since everyone is incompetent, the choice is based more on a man's revolutionary zeal than on his capabilities. This results in terrible confusion and criminal errors; entire sectors of the economy are mortally endangered. But thus far in history, no victorious revolution has ever foundered for lack of leaders. In the USSR, in China, in Vietnam, in Cuba, newcomers took over the top jobs, at the price of terrible convulsions, running the country, making inspection tours, handing down decisions by day and reading and learning by night. Thus the replacement of reactionary competency by incompetent revolutionaries is a normal and positive procedure in the course of revolution. And if this substitution is not effected at the outset by the use of force, it becomes necessary sooner or later because of the massive emigration of specialists.

But this leap into the unknown must be made in the heat of the moment; it must become an inevitable stage in revolutionary *praxis*. If such a step is not taken at the height of the revolutionary tempest, who would ever dare systematically to replace knowledge by ignorance at every level of the social hierarchy? Lumumba was a revolutionary without a revolution. His inflexible Jacobinism made him radically opposed to the hypocritical and superficial reform of the colonialist system that the Belgian government clumsily attempted, but his unyielding position was no more than a refusal in principle

since — as is precisely the point — a popular war had never taken place. By sparing themselves such a war, the Belgians had cheated the Congolese of the chance to fight it. The leader of the Congolese National Movement thus found, in a manner of speaking, that he had come out on the other side of an insurrection that had never taken place; he could not size up potential leaders as he could have in the heat of battle. An educated man, trained by whites, accustomed to admitting their superior technical knowledge, he was disturbed, as we have seen, by the small number of *évolués* and the ignorance of the masses.

It was clearly necessary to Africanize the country's cadres: he had always wanted to, and at this point was even more eager to bring this about, since very often he felt paralyzed by the administration's ill will. The Congo could not be fully independent as long as the key posts remained in the hands of whites. But since there was no dire emergency, his plans called for gradual change. We are struck by the fact that he often refers to secondary education in his speeches but almost never to primary education. Let us not interpret this as a class bias on his part. He is simply acutely aware of the problem: the Congo will be sending students to Europe as soon as possible; they will come back home and each one will take a Belgian's place; the more of them there are, the faster the technical, administrative, and military dependence of the country will come to an end. A reasonable solution, obviously, but a *reformist* one, such as would be dispassionately conceived by a statesman who weighs the pros and cons and takes only calculated risks.

At the same time, the masses were taking revolutionary steps to complete the revolution that had not taken place. They took it upon themselves to Africanize the cadres and drove out the Europeans with one sweep of the broom. They began with the Force Publique. The officers and the adjutants came from Belgium; even after a lifetime career on the force, the Congolese could go no higher than the rank of sergeant. Several months before independence, they announced their demands that this privileged status of the whites

be done away with: after independence a deserving black should be able to become a lieutenant or a general. Lumumba did not take the matter seriously; doubtless he considered it from the point of view of national priorities; officers could well be trained little by little. But he was wrong. This was not a general demand having to do with the rank of future soldiers: it was *these* soldiers who wanted to become sergeants, *these* sergeants who coveted the rank of captain. In a word, this demand was a concrete one and a pressing one. A politician would most likely have satisfied it the very first day and coopted the revolutionary movement for his own ends by taking the credit for an impressive coup: sending Janssens packing. This would have earned Lumumba the support of the army, the only weapon this powerless executive had at his disposal. What was most important, the soldiers of the Force Publique were in a mood that was causing great concern. When the Belgians were at the helm, that is to say up to June 30, these troops had enforced colonial law and order; these Congolese fought only Congolese; they put down uprisings, occupied villages, lived off the people. Objectively accomplices of the colonialist caste and very much under the influence of their officers, they gave every appearance of being inveterate counter-revolutionaries. And there is not the slightest doubt that that is what they were in their very heart of hearts, except for one fact: like the commoners in the French army before 1789, they fretted and fumed at being kept in the lowest ranks. This demand on their part summed up the Congo's aspirations for total sovereignty without their realizing it, since it could be fulfilled only by a sovereign decision. At the same time, there were symptoms of a class conflict lurking behind the racial conflict: these were poor men who were tired of the luxury of the rich and wanted to step into their shoes. By taking the initiative, the government would have made the forces of law and order the accomplices of the revolution; such a step would have made them solid supporters. Lumumba hesitated: the pressure being exerted by the black army threatened to force him into radicalism too soon; despite himself, he may have had a class

reflex. Who, he wondered, is capable of commanding the Congolese army *today*? He made the mistake of asking Janssens for a half measure: all blacks should be promoted to the next higher rank: a private second class should be made a private first class; and sergeants, sergeant-majors. Janssens was crafty enough to play his role as provocateur to the very hilt. His answer to the soldiers was: "You will get nothing. Not today and not ever." We know what happened next: the mutiny of the soldiers, the rout of their officers, Janssens' hasty flight to Brazzaville, pale green with fear. This insurrection might have been a positive factor, but in the end it had only negative results. The soldiers rebelled both against Janssens and against Lumumba, who had waited till the soldiers rioted to cashier Janssens. That is to say, they rebelled at once against colonial paternalism and against the young Congolese democracy. Confused, accustomed to imposing law and order by force, yet up in arms against the military privileges of the Belgians, most of them turned to a sort of Bonapartism, in order both to make it clear that they were a new caste and to demonstrate their scorn for the regime that had betrayed them.

The Africanization of the administrative cadres began with a debacle for the Europeans. Minor functionaries took to their heels, and private companies closed their doors. Lumumba did what he could to get them to stay on. But at this same moment Belgian troops were being flown into the Congo. Lumumba was forced to break with Belgium, and at this the white populace panicked completely. The masses, however, wanted to drive the Belgians out and criticized the functionaries for leaving. Lumumba was powerless; he was reproached for not having led the movement. The workers demanded a raise in wages. This was a reasonable demand, but Lumumba the Jacobin thought that it had been made at an inopportune moment. There was a sudden flurry of strikes. Not against the Belgians but against him. He put them down: the Congolese economy had to be salvaged, the level of production maintained. What is most important, he failed to recognize the confused and sporadic

agitation that finally brought about the Africanization of the cadres, radically and catastrophically, as events shaped by *his* political policy, *his* revolution, *his* followers. These people, he thought to himself, haven't lifted a finger until now; now that we've won, they're demanding things of us that they would never have pressed the Belgians for; what do they have in common with us? This nonviolent man took a stand against violence; this *évolué* divorced himself from the non-*évolués* and from all *évolués* who had anything in mind besides the common interest. He put down these spontaneous movements, thereby losing his last chance to harness his tottering power to this fierce revolution. We must realize, moreover, that this chance was an outside one at best: completely unorganized, without a revolutionary program, this brutally sudden radicalization of independence was leading nowhere. The demonstrations went on, and from this point on they were directed against the government. In order to identify himself with the cause of national unity, Lumumba had attempted to cut himself off from his class. He was forced to go back to it. The deputies had just voted themselves a parliamentary salary amounting to 500,000 francs, just as Lumumba was attempting to put a stop to the workers' demands for higher wages; the masses of former peasants discovered that they were victims both of the appetites of the *évolués* and of governmental repression. Before independence the "elite" earned much more than unskilled workers but remained exploited and oppressed, since a black functionary received half as much pay as a white for the same work; in spite of all their differences, this inequality helped bring the petty bourgeoisie and the people closer together; the blacks' pride in their *évolués* was a way of *being against the Belgians*. But almost from the moment that these *évolués* came to power, they had turned out to be a *class* because of the salaries and remunerations they demanded. The masses thought that the *évolués* showed every sign of being their new masters, and suddenly saw the executive as a force for repression, just as for good reason they had formerly taken the colonial administration for such a power. This was not at all the case, however;

the black petty bourgeoisie could establish its authority only by abandoning the Congo to imperialism, which would hand over the running of the country to it in return. Moreover Lumumba, far from representing the class interests of the *évolués*, was finding that his power was diminishing from one day to the next because he opposed them — not, it is true, in the name of the interests of the masses, but rather in the name of Jacobin universalism. Nonetheless, the minds of the masses were soon poisoned and the prime minister was regarded as an apprentice dictator appointed by the many who were privileged, at the very moment when in actual fact he was losing their confidence. From July on, Kasavubu, the Abako, and the Belgian provocateurs cleverly exploited this confusion by making Lumumba out to be a tyrant.

Nothing was more alien to his character: moreover, at the very moment that he was being accused of abusing his power, he was in actual fact no longer able even to command obedience. But what his enemies were aware of from the very first was that in a divided country national unity is a *praxis* of continuing unification; acts of opposition easily become acts of treason, as Merleau-Ponty pointed out, when they cause even greater discord and factionalism: the central government must disarm the opposition, by force if need be. From this point of view, strikes or uprisings in the cities, however justified the demands that are put forward, are as much to be feared as ethnic conflicts; the latter hold culture back and divide the nation, while the former lower the level of production. For many reasons, it was imperative for the free Congo, during the first few years of its infancy, not to fall too far below the level of the Belgian Congo, from which it sprang: *as a consequence*, centralism necessarily implies a policy of social austerity. The Incorruptible, however — whether his name be Robespierre or Lumumba — must at the same time carry on a running battle with the ruling class — *his own class* — in order to keep it a universal class, in order to prevent it, that is to say, from being at loggerheads with the rest of the country because of its demands, its way of life, or its sudden prosperity. This

means that pressure must be put on each social group to sacrifice its interests to the common interest in the name of unity. This is all well and good, provided that such a common interest actually exists. After the first tumultuous months following his takeover, Castro forced the Cuban labor unions to put a stop to strikes by workers and to resolve social conflicts through arbitration. But it so happened that he had just beaten the army that was fighting for those enjoying feudal power, routed the feudal lords from their fiefs, and passed an agrarian reform law giving their property to the classes who had nothing. By demanding sacrifices of everyone, he invited the workers in the city and the countryside to give proof of their real unity, their common interest, which lay in the free exploitation of the island by all for the benefit of all. In other words, centralism can make national unity and the interest of all synonymous only if the revolution that it stems from is socialist. In the Congo at this point, there is as yet no class struggle, properly speaking, between the évolués who take power and the unskilled laborers or farm workers, but already the Congolese pseudo-unity masks a divergence of interests. Without being aware of it, centralism calls for that abstract minimum of national unity in order that a new society may have the time it needs to create new structures and new social strata. But neither the exploited nor those who will be the exploiters have any intention of sacrificing their concrete demands for this future that is as yet unpredictable: even this early, the fact that there is an opposing group prevents each of them from giving in. The proletariat knows that the ministers have voted themselves large salaries. As for them and all the other évolués, they are not about to make any concessions to anyone. They have an ethic based on merit: not furthering their own interests first would amount basically to sacrificing themselves to the mass of illiterates, that is to say, to nonmilitants.

Thus, since it has behind it no mass movement, no armed struggle, and no socialist program, centralism as a unifying policy seems arbitrary to everyone; the unity that it is seeking to establish is re-

garded by one and all as an empty concept; each group counters it with its own concrete idea of unity, which at this point is a divisive factor. Lumumba finds that everybody is against him: the provincial and federalist parties, the capital, the proletariat, the petty bourgeoisie which he represents and which ought to be giving him its support. Worse than that: people in rural districts are willing to go along with independence only if they can keep their "traditional structures." Those who realize that the tribal chieftains have been the "native" representatives of the Belgian administration are few and far between. These petty rulers lose everything when the colonials pull out. The Belgians bought them off and let them rule: this was centralizing power by dividing it. The policy of the Congolese government will be to wipe out these divisions: it will be necessary to create a black administration, train functionaries in Leopoldville, and send them all over the country as the sole qualified representatives of power. These measures, which every unitary nationalism must take, sound the death knell for feudal enclaves: the central power will cover the country with a network of responsible representatives who will arrive at their decisions on the basis of orders from the capital and will substitute their authority for that of the local feudal lords. The local tribal chieftains are upset: European agents make it a point to tell them how the wind is blowing. Many feudal overlords—even some of those who have allied themselves with the Congolese National Movement in order to demand independence—turn out one fine day to be passionate enemies of Lumumba. Their flocks follow their lead. In Katanga, Lumumba's mortal enemy, Munongo, the man who perhaps murdered him with his own hands, is the son of a tribal king. Katangese secession, which brings on the final disaster, is the result of an agreement between the local feudal powers, the colonists who have settled in the province, and the Union Minière.

What can be done in the face of so many enemies? Strictly speaking, nothing whatsoever. If centralism has a solid base, if it has the support of the armed forces, sooner or later, depending on how crit-

ical the situation is, it will reach the point of combating federalism with terror: that is what Robespierre did in 1793. But not for long: he too fell from power, after having put down popular uprisings, when the populace tumbled to the fact that he no longer represented anyone. But Lumumba! Less than a week after independence was proclaimed, the July mutiny deprived him of the support of the Force Publique. It was soon apparent in Leopoldville that only the police — and the Parliament — would defend him against demonstrations by the Abako. And when he sent the army to restore order in the separatist provinces, it left on its mission, it is true, but it never arrived, preferring to dawdle en route, that is to say, to pillage and massacre peasants. Yet this man, cut off from everyone, who now has only the trappings of power, will be accused of exercising a bloody dictatorship.* There was some slight justification for this accusation: as a matter of fact, considering the forces lined up against each other and the unusual nature of the situation, the leader of a party seeking unity, were it within his power, would be forced either to renounce his goals or to revert to terror. The task of unifying the Congo required a dictatorship; a dictatorship of the proletariat, which was poorly informed and badly trained by its representatives, was not even conceivable, and therefore it was necessary for a petty bourgeois to fly in the face of everyone and take over.

The July mutiny was followed by the Katangese secession, which gave rise to a more or less powerful separatist current all over the country. Lumumba the "tyrant" was admirable: he would take off in a plane with Kasavubu, who remained silent as a tomb and followed him everywhere; when news of a disturbance, unrest, or hostility reached him he would land at the trouble spot, and almost the moment he climbed out of the aircraft he would hold a meeting somewhere or other. The warmth of his voice, his sincerity, his optimism — a sign of naïveté or mysticism, as one prefers — charmed

* Kasavubu knew that he was lying when he held Lumumba responsible for the depredations of the Force Publique.

every group he spoke to and often swayed them. When he had overcome their prejudices, calmed their misgivings, answered their objections, and *explained*, above all explained, his plans and his reasons *in detail*, he would come out on top for one evening; for one evening, in a provincial city, this dictatorship of the spoken word, the only one he ever exercised, would bring about a Jacobin unity of a few hundred people — the only ones who were politically aware. Amid their acclaim, Patrice would return to the plane, take off, and think: the match is won; and Kasavubu, sitting beside him, would think: the match is lost, the spoken word is not that powerful. As a matter of fact, it is, provided that it is repeated a thousand times, first by the leaders, then by the activists, and then by the militants who remain behind. Lumumba was alone, absolutely alone. Each time the plane flew off, silence would descend once more on the little town that he had just left; everyone would go back to his immediate concerns, to his prejudices, to his tribal or socioprofessional group; nothing was left behind, not even a seed planted in some person's heart. The "tyrant" in the meantime was flying; when he landed, obscure whites insulted him and he found it necessary to accept the humiliating — and doubtless not very effective — protection of the Belgian soldiers, of the colonialist troops whose actions he had denounced in Parliament and whose expulsion from Africa he had requested of the United Nations. He even tries to land in Katanga; the Belgian officers controlling the airfield send word that they will arrest him the minute he lands. Lumumba attempts to land anyway; the Belgians shut off the landing lights and silence radio communication. It is pitch-black and he is thus prevented from making a suicidal gesture. He finally gives up; the plane gains altitude and makes a turn. The free Congo turns, a prisoner on high, scurrying this way and that, like a ferret: for the only symbol now of a centralized Congo, independent and united, is Lumumba. The chips are down: the appeal to the United Nations, the sending in of the UN Blue Helmets, Kasavubu's coup d'état, the pronouncement by Mobutu, the cop who takes orders from the Belgians,

who takes over the Force Publique — that is to say, armed bands that have not been paid and now stoop to holding up peasants for ransom, the despicable partiality of Hammarskjöld, the intrigues of Youlou, who is a puppet in the hands of the French government: all of these familiar episodes are merely the stations of a *via crucis* that is inevitable. The Belgians, the French, the English, the big companies, and Mr. H. had Lumumba murdered by their henchmen, Kasavubu, Mobutu, Tshombe, Munongo — and the United States, that puritan nation, averted its eyes in order not to see the blood. Why such relentlessness? Did it really take this murder, which attracted worldwide attention, to gain neocolonialism a foothold in the Congo? This tall, thin, nervous black, a tireless worker, a magnificent orator, had lost his power: the fragmentation of the Congo, a real fact, the undeniable result of eighty years of "paternalist" colonialism and six months of Machiavellianism, was a radical denial of the Jacobin dream of the prime minister: he had lost his power, except perhaps in Stanleyville, where he had not so much partisans as a clientele. Had he gone there, what more could he have done than Gizenga, who was betrayed a short time later, after a few lightning victories, by his chief of staff, Lumumba's uncle, who opted for the newly restored unity of the only effective power, the black army, rather than the dreams of unity of politicians? Imperialism cares nothing for human lives: but since it was certain to prevail, could it not have spared itself scandal? As a matter of fact, it could not; this is the secret behind these sordid plots: Lumumba was the man needed for the transfer of power, and he would have to be put out of the way immediately thereafter.

The reason for this was that as long as he was alive he represented the stubborn rejection of the neocolonialist solution. This solution consists basically of buying the new masters, the bourgeois of the new countries, as classic colonialism bought tribal chiefs, emirs, and witch doctors. Imperialism needs a ruling class sufficiently aware of its precarious situation to ally its class interests with the interests of big Western companies. From this point of view, the na-

tional army, the symbol of sovereignty in the eyes of the naïve, becomes the instrument of a twofold exploitation: that of the working classes by the "elite," and through the intermediary of this elite, that of blacks by Western capitalism. Investments and loans are made: the government of the independent nation becomes completely dependent on Europeans and Americans. This happened in Cuba in 1900 as that country emerged from a colonial war that it had won. The model is still a serviceable one: it is used every day. The aim is to make the Black Continent suffer the same fate as Latin America: a weak central government, an alliance between the bourgeois (or feudal overlords who retain their power) and the army, and a super-government of trusts. Accomplices are needed to pull this scheme off: in the Congo this man will be Kasavubu; his ambitions and his separatism — even though in the end he accepts a very loose federation — perpetuate the old discords fostered by the Belgian administration, and this time people do not suspect the whites of having had a hand in the matter. Iléo and Adoula are quite capable of backing him up: their class conscience is a match for their appetites; protected by the Force Publique, they can be counted on to deal the constitution a death blow and hasten the development of the new bourgeoisie. The évolués up until this point have been no more than salaried employees, recruited and trained by imperialism and convinced by their masters that their interests coincide with those of capital: they must now make changes in the Congolese economy, turn certain employees on a salary into petty capitalists, perpetuate the rural fiefdoms, and give the forces of concentration free rein even in the countryside. Such was the program; such was the Congo in 1963; a subject of history from 1960 to 1961, it is nothing today but the most passive of objects. The fate of Katanga was settled between the Belgians, the English, the French, the Americans, the Rhodesians, and the whites of South Africa. The pitched battles, the peasant revolts, the war, the abrupt and contradictory decisions of the United Nations are the results and the symbols of the various deals that took place between the trusts and a number of govern-

ments. If everything today appears to be settled, if Katanga is about to become part of the Congo once again, it is because the United States — against the wishes of Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa, against the designs of the English and the French — has made a deal with the Belgians to exploit the riches of the Congo together, through the intermediary of mixed companies.

In order to carry off successfully such delicate compromises, it was necessary to oust the Congo from the debates — and that meant doing away with Lumumba. Alone and betrayed, he remained the abstract symbol of national unity; he was the Congo at the historic moment of the transfer of power. Before him, there was only one colony, a jigsaw puzzle of fragmented empires; after him, all that is left is a country rent to pieces that will take more than a decade to attain national unity. As prime minister, Lumumba lost all his sources of support one after the other, and despite himself became, through the force of circumstances, the agent of a new separatism that went by the name of centralization. A captive but still alive, he threatened from one day to the next to become a principle, a focal point, for the Congolese to rally round; he remained the living witness of a certain policy that he had been prevented from carrying out but that, at the first hint of failure on the part of the new government, might appear to be a viable substitute policy — a policy that had not proved its merits because it had not had enough time to do so, and might turn out to be the only one possible, once put into effect. Yesterday's malcontents had united against him; tomorrow's — the same individuals, no doubt — would regroup around him. A prisoner once idolized by the masses continues to be a naked possibility of *praxis*; his very existence turns regrets into hopes; because he remains faithful to his principles, they are much more than a vision in his mind to his new opponents; they are alive, they are real and present, humanized by the man who is known to be clinging to them in his prison cell; they become a fascinating object of thought to be pondered by one and all. This becomes noticeably true in Thysville, when the soldiers guarding Lumumba rebel: if

they are not paid, they say, they will free him. Panicking at this threat, the leaders in Leopoldville approach the Katangese. A bargain is struck: Tshombe will pay the soldiers, and in return Lumumba will be delivered into his hands. In short, even in his prison cell, the prime minister who has fallen from power is a witness to the need for centralism, so much so that his fall is immediately followed by a sudden outbreak of riots and local wars.

There is more to it than this: beginning in October, there is a recurrence of revolutionary disturbances. This time it is the base, the peasants and the workers, who mobilize against the continuance of a colonialist economic system. These scattered movements have no common aim; it would be possible, however, to overcome the old divisions and unite these groups if the demands of each of them could be incorporated in a common program. The fear that this will happen is not completely insane; Gizenga, the new centralist leader, will later take radical steps in Stanleyville: the trusts will be Africanized; the Belgians will be confined to their residences and made subject to a special tax; after six months the state will seize abandoned property. These decrees are the first signs that the gap between the demands of the masses, which are concrete but have little hope of fulfillment, and the abstract Jacobinism of the Congolese National Movement is beginning to narrow. And Gizenga does not have Lumumba's popularity. Nor his intelligence. What fearful consequences might there have been if the former prime minister had realized that he must go back to the masses to acquire new strength, break with the *évolués*, give his unitary policy a social content — that he must, in a word, arouse the people against the neocapitalist mystification? To tell the truth, this is the whole problem: Jacobinism is petty bourgeois; it makes the economy subordinate to political integration and keeps coming up against the demands of the masses, which it accuses of sabotaging the unity of the country. This conflict ordinarily allows the enemies of the movement for unity and the social movement to put down successfully first the one and then the other. But if the Jacobins manage to sur-

vive for some time — and this is rarely the case — they learn from the difficulties they encounter and start over again: unity then is no longer the beginning but an intermediate stage, the only way to fuse the interests of the masses and their demands; it is also the final aim of an economic, social, and political revolution that must either constantly become more and more radical or fall apart. I have met young people from the cities, former students from the middle classes, who had posts in Castro's government: they were Jacobins against Batista, but once they joined the rebels they did not find it at all difficult to abandon temporarily their political ideal and then take it up again later *in and through* the movement to build socialism. Robespierre and Lumumba died too soon to bring about the synthesis that would have made them invincible. What is more, in the France of 1789 as in the Congo of 1961, the majority of the masses were still peasants: in France the proletariat had not yet been born or really developed; in the Congo Belgian paternalism had paralyzed it. In neither of these two cases did those who were truly exploited have representatives or an apparatus capable of putting pressure on the politicians to unite the people through a common struggle against exploitation. Nonetheless, there are three million black proletarians in the Congo; if Patrice had lived, who knows whether he might not have been led to set them against his own class, once it had disappointed him? His pose as a leader who had never denounced the insane bourgeois idea of a "universal class" could, under certain circumstances, bring him closer to people: he could approach local leaders of revolutionary movements without feeling either a guilt complex or a superiority complex. This abstract equality might have led him to see the light; in the end he might have understood what has been called "the socialist vocation of Africa," which in plainer terms might be reduced to this dilemma: neocolonialism or socialization. He *might have*: I use this turn of phrase not to suggest that this is merely a hypothesis, but to define the fear he aroused in his enemies even when he was in chains. Imperialism sees the situation clearly: if it shows its hand

to the excolonized, if they can guess that it intends to conceal the perpetuation of an exploitative economic system behind a political farce, it knows perfectly well that the masses will unite against the politicians, its accomplices. The situation was extremely confused in the Congo, but the Congolese would catch on very quickly if someone explained to them that they were aiding the enemy. Lumumba soon learned that Belgium did not keep her word, that the Union Minière incited and supported secessions that were contrary to the wishes of the government of the ex-mother country, that the United Nations troops sent to the Congo to maintain order had protected Kasavubu the separatist and left the centralist prime minister at the mercy of his enemies. It did not take even a petty bourgeois who claimed to know nothing about economics very long to draw embarrassing conclusions. In short, what the évolués and the big companies feared at first was the radicalization of Lumumba by the masses and the unification of the masses by Lumumba. It could be said that his murder sealed the alliance concluded between imperialism and the black petty bourgeoisie a short time before: there was now to be a corpse between them.

But the prestige of the Congolese prime minister extended far beyond the boundaries of his country. He proved the need for a united Africa. Not, however, one brought about in the manner of conquering states that conceal the word "hegemony" beneath the word "unity." On the contrary, it was the weakness of the regime and Lumumba's unshakable courage and fatal but undeserved powerlessness that made it the duty of the black countries to aid him. This strict and urgent obligation was not generosity. Nor was it some vague sort of idealistic solidarity. As a matter of fact, the African nations discovered their destiny, the destiny of Africa, in the Congo. The neocolonialist countries got to the bottom of the process of mystification that had rid them of all their chains except exploitation; the other countries, those which had barely avoided "congolization," discovered how the mechanism worked, the role played by internal divisions in this total breakdown; they realized

that they were not yet on safe ground for certain, that it was necessary to fight against separatist movements *on a continental scale*, or else all of Africa would run the risk of being balkanized. In this sense when Lumumba failed, Pan-Africanism failed. N'Krumah experienced the most bitter disappointment: in July he sent Ghanaian troops to the Congo under the command of the United Nations, which proceeded to use them against Patrice Lumumba despite Ghana's protests; the experience taught N'Krumah that the United Nations was not an impartial organization mediating the conflicts of the Third World in a spirit of absolute objectivity but a system set up for the sole purpose of defending imperialism everywhere in the West, even if popular republics and Afro-Asiatic nations were admitted to membership. But all of Africa, humiliated at not having been able to save the man of Accra, also learned the fate that awaited "neutralists." In a moment of exasperation and indignation at Hammarskjöld's attitude, Lumumba had appealed to the USSR, which had sent him planes. On this occasion he had applied the strictest principle of neutralism: dealing with any and every nation, without taking the nature of the regime in power into consideration, accepting or asking for any sort of real help in an emergency, provided that it was disinterested. This was all it took for the missions to immediately label him a communist. Imperialism followed suit: what is most ironic about this is that it was taken in by its own game and decided that this *évolué*, the son of a Catholic, married in a Catholic church, and the father of Catholics, was a secret agent of the Kremlin. If we wish to have a better view of the situation, this desperate call for help from a Jacobin "with no economic choice left" should be compared to what Castro was able to do on an island a few miles off the coast of the United States. And let there be no mistake about it: Castro won his victory precisely because he had taken over as head of a socialist revolution: the failure of the Congolese leader, the "communist" label his enemies thought would totally discredit him, and all the rest is simply a result of the fact that he was not willing to go about reforming the infrastructure of his

country. Africa understood: when the head of an "independent" government asks the Russians for help, the West throws him out of office. Neutralism will remain an empty principle so long as the various states of the Black Continent do not unite to force it to be respected.

Lumumba alive and a captive is a symbol of the shame and rage of an entire continent: he represents in the minds of everyone a demand that they can neither fulfill nor escape from; one and all discover *through him* how powerful and how fierce neocolonialist conniving is. He must therefore be gotten rid of as soon as possible. Imperialism keeps its hands clean, and its two principal agents, Kasavubu and Mobutu, a disreputable figure, have reasons not to want their people to think them responsible for shedding this blood. So it is Tshombe who will do the killing. (But the Union Minière and the colonialists saw through the man so well, he had sold out to them with such zeal, that it was soon necessary to liquidate him too.) A black man is rubbed out, a man who had been made prime minister and had taken his mission seriously, and Kasavubu is again asked to form a cabinet. It is hoped, I suppose, that Lumumba will be less troublesome dead than alive; a dead man is soon forgotten; what can be done for him? with him? The bayonet thrust that Munongo is rumored to have delivered Lumumba will dissuade the overwrought Africans from calling on their brothers to wage a crusade for freedom. In any case, this is the way the situation was sized up. As we know, it was a false calculation.

Once dead, Lumumba ceases to be an individual and becomes all of Africa, with its will towards unity, its many social and political regimes, its dissensions, its discord, its strength, and its impotence. He was not, nor could he have been, the hero of Pan-Africanism; he was, rather, its martyr. His story brings into the light of day, for all to see, the intimate relationship between independence, unity, and the fight against the trusts. His death (I remember Fanon in Rome—he was crushed by it) is a cry of alarm; in and through him, the whole continent dies in order to be born again. The Afri-

can nations understand now: Addis Ababa *prepares to carry out* what Accra *talked about*. These nations will now set up a common apparatus allowing them to aid and abet revolutionary struggles in countries that have not yet won their independence. Unity is war; through the example of Algeria, certain Africans become more and more aware that it is also socialist revolution.

The Congo loses only one battle. Protected by the Congolese National Army, the Congolese bourgeoisie, that class of traitors and turncoats who have been bought off, will finish the job that it has started and set itself up as a class of exploiters. Capitalist concentration will slowly put an end to feudal enclaves and unify the exploited, and all the conditions for a Castroist movement will be present. But Cubans honor the memory of José Martí, who died at the end of the last century without seeing Cuba's victory over Spain or the subjection of the island to United States imperialism. And a few years from now, if the Castro of the Congo wishes to teach his followers that unity must be fought for, he will remind them of its first martyr, Lumumba.

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE

Part One

1958-1959

On December 11, 1958, Patrice Lumumba, president of the Congolese National Movement, spoke at the Accra Conference. This occasion was the first time in the history of the Congo that black militants participated in an international Pan-African conference.

After the World's Fair in Brussels in the summer of 1958, the Congolese had brought decisive pressure to bear, shaking Belgian paternalism to its foundations. Despite the opposition of the colonial administration, the governor-general, on advice from Brussels, allowed a delegation of Congolese leaders to leave for Accra. A new era was beginning in the Congo, and through Lumumba's voice, Africa was about to hear the sound of a people awakening, the echoes of which were to resound throughout the world two years later.

All of Lumumba's speeches were extemporaneous. Except during formal debates, when he would refer to documents in his possession, he never used notes when he spoke.

SPEECH AT THE ACCRA CONFERENCE

We thank the organizers of the Conference of the Assembly of African Peoples for the friendly invitation they kindly extended to our movement. We would like to express our gratitude to His Excellency Prime Minister N'Krumah and to the people of Ghana for the fraternal welcome given us.

We would also like to thank the representatives of the independent peoples present here for their continued defense of the Congo in international tribunals.

I hope they will regard these words, delivered in the name of all our compatriots, as an expression of our sincere gratitude.

The Present Situation in the Congo

Up until the end of last year, there was no legislative council anywhere in the Congo. All the organs of the country were — and still are — consultative.

Since January of this year, the political structure of the country has undergone modification, the most important change being the creation of communes in certain cities in the Congo.

Legislation to that effect has been passed with regard to rural districts and will be applied in the course of the coming year.

But the new decrees concerning the organization of cities and rural districts have not yet granted these institutions complete autonomy.

In the urban councils, as in all the other consultative organs of the country, a system of representation has been instituted that gives the European minority and the African majority an equal number of seats. There is no need to underscore the fact that this is anti-democratic.

Realizing the progress that has been made by the various segments of the population and taking note of the demands repeatedly put forward by its subjects, Belgium has recently sent to the Congo a commission charged with the task of acquainting itself with the aspirations of the people at first hand.

We for our part believe that on this occasion the country clearly expressed its preference for self-determination.

The Belgian government has promised to deliver its solemn decision on this subject next month.

Our Program of Action

The Congolese National Movement, which we represent at this great conference, is a political movement, founded on October 5, 1958.

This date marks a decisive step for the Congolese people as they move toward emancipation. I am happy to say that the birth of our

movement was warmly received by the people for this reason.

The fundamental aim of our movement is to free the Congolese people from the colonialist regime and earn them their independence.

We base our action on the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man — rights guaranteed to each and every citizen of humanity by the United Nations Charter — and we are of the opinion that the Congo, as a human society, has the right to join the ranks of free peoples.

We wish to see a modern democratic state established in our country, which will grant its citizens freedom, justice, social peace, tolerance, well-being, and equality, with no discrimination whatsoever.

In a motion we recently transmitted to the minister of the Congo in Brussels, we clearly stipulated — as did many other compatriots of ours — that the Congo could no longer be treated as a colony to be either exploited or settled, and that its attainment of independence was the *sine qua non* condition of peace.

In our actions aimed at winning the independence of the Congo, we have repeatedly proclaimed that we are against no one, *but rather are simply against domination, injustices, and abuses, and merely want to free ourselves of the shackles of colonialism and all its consequences.*

These injustices, and the stupid superiority complex that the colonialists make such a display of, are the causes of the drama of the West in Africa, as is clearly evident from the disturbing reports of the other delegates.

Along with this struggle for national liberation waged with calm and dignity, our movement *opposes, with every power at its command, the balkanization of national territory under any pretext whatsoever.*

From all the speeches that have preceded ours, something becomes obvious that is, to say the least, odd, and that all colonized people have noticed: the proverbial patience and good-heartedness

that Africans have given proof of for thousands of years, despite persecution, extortions, discrimination, segregation, and tortures of every sort.

The winds of freedom currently blowing across all of Africa have not left the Congolese people indifferent. Political awareness, which until very recently was latent, is now becoming manifest and assuming outward expression, and it will assert itself even more forcefully in the months to come. We are thus assured of the support of the masses and of the success of the efforts we are undertaking.

This historical conference, which puts us in contact with experienced political figures from all the African countries and from all over the world, reveals one thing to us: despite the boundaries that separate us, despite our ethnic differences, we have the same awareness, the same soul plunged day and night in anguish, the same anxious desire to make this African continent a free and happy continent that has rid itself of unrest and of fear and of any sort of colonialist domination.

We are particularly happy to see that this conference has set as its objective the struggle against all the internal and external factors standing in the way of the emancipation of our respective countries and the unification of Africa.

Among these factors, the most important are colonialism, imperialism, tribalism, and religious separatism, all of which seriously hinder the flowering of a harmonious and fraternal African society.

This is why we passionately cry out with all the delegates:

Down with colonialism and imperialism!

Down with racism and tribalism!

And long live the Congolese nation, long live independent Africa!

On his return from Accra, Lumumba and his friends conducted the first great political meeting in Congolese history, appearing before a crowd of ten thousand people. The text below is the speech delivered by Lumumba at Leopoldville on December 28, 1958.

It must be recalled that at this point the entire province of Leopoldville and the capital were already keenly aware of the realities of their situation because of the political action of the Abako, which had set up a network of cells that covered the entire Lower Congo and had forced the Belgian administration to confront a hostile populace insisting on its rights.

SPEECH AT LEOPOLDVILLE

I thank you in the name of the Congolese National Movement for having come in such numbers to the first meeting we have held since the founding of our movement.

This large crowd is a sure sign of the hopes you have placed in the Congolese National Movement and the aims that it intends doggedly and stubbornly to pursue.

From this day forward, during the entire course of our campaign, we shall therefore do our utmost not to disappoint those patriots who have demonstrated their trust in us by supporting us and seconding our efforts.

The remarks addressed to you today will be divided into two parts: in the first part, we will give you a faithful and authentic report of the work accomplished at the Conference of the Assembly of African Peoples in which we have recently participated; in the second part, we will put before you our movement's program for action. We wish to carry out this program with the active collaboration of each and every Congolese: man, woman, and child.

The idea of holding a conference of all the African peoples was initially proposed at the time of the celebration of the first anniversary of Ghana's independence, following an exchange of views by African leaders who had gathered in Accra on this solemn occasion. This idea was seconded at the Conference of Independent African States, held in Accra in the month of April, 1958, and was given concrete form through the creation of a preparatory commission.

This commission immediately set to work, and thanks to its ef-

forts the first Conference of the Assembly of African Peoples has just been held in Accra, from the fifth to the thirteenth of December.

This historic conference brought together the representatives of political and nationalist groups, labor unions, et cetera, from all the dependent and independent African territories. The number and the nature of its participants, who came from all corners of the world, made the Accra Conference a popular and representative one.

As a result of this broad representation and the unanimity of the delegates' views, the conference formulated and proclaimed the philosophy of Pan-Africanism. Following this line of thought, it pointed out ways in which a peaceful African revolution could be brought about. It set as its goal the formulation of concrete plans and the establishment of the tactics and strategy of this revolution in relation to: (1) colonialism and imperialism; (2) racism and discriminatory laws and practices; (3) tribalism and religious separatism; (4) the position of tribal chieftains — (a) under the colonial regime, (b) in a free democratic society.

In order to fight colonialism more effectively, the conference as a whole denounced the time-honored weapon that its upholders use to impose their will: "divide and rule," that tactic which, as the African masses became aware of the realities of their situation, was modified to fit the changing circumstances and which assumed subtle and roundabout forms in order to hit harder than ever, destroy the native peoples' determination to unite and free themselves, and impose the economic dependence that is the foundation of international imperialism.

In view of the importance of the questions to be dealt with, five commissions were created within the conference for the purpose of examining the problems raised and putting practical and realistic conclusions before the congress.

The areas these commissions were to examine are as follows:

Commission Number 1: The question of colonialism and imperial-

ism in Africa — the injustices they have caused and how to become aware of them.

Commission Number 2: The question of racism and discriminatory laws and practices — distributing land to Africans — the adoption of universal suffrage in all African territories without discrimination based on race, tribe, religion, education, or wealth — applying the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man in all African countries.

Commission Number 3: The question of tribalism and religious separatism, which also constitute fertile sources of dissension that the colonialists exploit in order to secure an even firmer hold over us — the position of traditional institutions under colonial domination and in a free democratic society.

Commission Number 4: The question of the adjustment of African borders — merging or confederating groups of regional states in a community of United States of Africa.

Commission Number 5: This commission was charged with establishing a permanent organization to serve as the embryonic form of a future United States of Africa.

The five commissions met separately and each of them presented its recommendations to the General Assembly. The final resolutions of the conference were discussed and passed during a plenary session.

A permanent secretariat was created to assure that these resolutions are carried out and that the work undertaken advances on a continuing basis. Its headquarters will be in Accra.

The conference likewise appointed the fifteen members of the executive committee.

These members have taken on very great responsibilities, for they are watching over the destiny of all of Africa.

The mission of the executive committee, and the aims and objectives of the conference as well, are as follows:

(a) to promote mutual understanding and unity among the peoples of Africa;

(b) to hasten the liberation of Africa from imperialism and colonialism;

(c) to marshal world opinion in support of the liberation of Africa; to recommend concrete means and methods of attaining these goals;

(d) to develop the spirit of community among the peoples of Africa so as to promote the birth of the United States of Africa.

In broad outline, these were the aims and the resolutions of the Pan-African Conference of Accra.

In conclusion, the conference is asking for the immediate independence of all of Africa and has announced that no country in Africa is to remain under foreign domination after 1960.

The Conference of the Assembly of African States in Accra marks a decisive step toward the complete expression of the African personality and toward the perfect unity of all the fraternal peoples of our continent.

That is why our movement will always oppose with every power it possesses the balkanization of national territory under any pretext whatsoever.

Ladies and gentlemen, all the forces of the country must be mobilized in order to hasten the attainment of the goals that we have just defined for the well-being of all.

We address a passionate appeal to all Congolese patriots, to all associations and organized groups, to unite around the Congolese National Movement, an appeal addressed to all Congolese, regardless of tribe, sex, or religion.

The objective of the MNC is to unite and organize the Congolese masses in the struggle to improve their lot and wipe out the colonialist regime and the exploitation of man by man.

We invite all our compatriots, whatever their station, and whatever their present or past tendencies or divergences of opinion, to pool their energies and their courage with ours in order to carry out the necessary and indispensable formation of a united front, without

which we will not be able to assert ourselves or make our voice heard, the voice of the Congolese people. It is high time that the Congolese people prove to the world that they are conscious of the realities of the sort of independence being offered us — a token gift that the government is preparing for them and promising them. We do not want this sort of independence.

It is time that the Congolese in the population centers and the interior let the world know that they are in no way divided, but rather are united in a single, just cause.

It is time for the Congolese people to awaken from their slumber, to break their silence, to overcome the fear instilled in them, so as to demonstrate, peacefully but resolutely, that they are a force to be reckoned with.

Certain people are attempting to lead naïve Congolese to believe that the country's attainment of its independence will bring on a flight of foreign capital, disturbances because there are not any black technicians yet, and so on.

We for our part believe, and base our opinions in this regard on the experiences of other African countries — which were in fact even farther behind than ours is, when they took over the reins of government — we believe that the Congo's attainment of its independence will both stabilize the Congolese economy and constitute a solid guarantee for foreign investments.

In point of fact, the reinvestment within the country of all the profits made by national companies, the speeding up of the program of industrialization, the granting of numerous scholarships to the country's students by the Congolese state, the elimination of the present security bond of 50,000 francs that must be put up by any Congolese desiring to go outside the country for training, the granting of numerous loans to the Congolese middle classes, the organization of free and compulsory education at all levels, the development of peasant associations and cooperatives in rural districts, the total elimination of all types of legal discrimination, the enthusiasm for work that will be created by the payment of decent salaries

and the enjoyment of human freedoms — all these things prove to us, ladies and gentlemen, that the Congo's attainment of its independence will bring greater well-being to the people of this country, a well-being that they are not able to enjoy fully under the present regime.

If at this point there are Europeans who believe that they will be able to perpetuate a repressive regime forever, we can but regret this.

If, on the contrary, the meaning and the legitimacy of our struggle are understood by men who have sincerely made up their minds to give us fraternal support and aid in building our country by honest labor and the contribution of financial capital and technical resources, then the Congolese will note this with interest and regard these men as true friends of the country.

The present dream of Africa, of all of Africa, including the Congo, is to become a free and independent continent, like all the other continents of the world, for it is the will of the Creator that all men and all peoples be free and equal.

It remains for us, ladies and gentlemen, to outline for you our movement's program of action.

The fundamental aim of the Congolese National Movement, which is typically African in spirit, is the liberation of the Congolese people from a colonialist regime and attainment of their independence.

This movement has no ties whatsoever either with the government or with any other political organization set up by Europeans, as certain of its detractors behind the scenes are leading people to believe.

These are merely the sort of maneuvers to subvert the movement that are the specialty of detractors. Our watchword is to do our work well and let them talk. We are fighting for truth and justice. This truth will triumph, even if it is trampled underfoot today.

We base our action on the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man — rights guaranteed all citizens of humanity by the United

Nations Charter — and feel that the Congo, as a human society, has the right to join the ranks of free peoples.

We want to say farewell to the old regime, that repressive regime that keeps nationals from enjoying political rights that have been recognized as legitimately belonging to every human being and every free citizen.

We want our country, our great country, to have another face, the face of an independent and happy people freed from anxiety, fear, and every sort of colonialist domination.

In a motion transmitted to the minister of the Congo in Brussels, we stressed the fact that the Congo can no longer be considered a colony to be either exploited or settled and that the attainment of its independence is the *sine qua non* condition of peace.

In our action to win the independence of the Congo, an independence that we wish to be total, we have repeatedly stated that we are against no one, but only against domination, injustices, and abuses, and merely want to free ourselves of the shackles of colonialism and all its consequences.

If these injustices and these abuses persist despite our repeated protests, they will eventually be the cause of a split between Belgium and the Congo and of any social disturbances that this country may undergo.

The Congolese people have as much right to be independent as the other peoples of the world. This is a basic, natural, and sacred right that no doctrine can dispute and no power take away from them. It is likewise by virtue of this right that they will be the ones to decide what specific limitations are to be placed on the exercise of their independence, for their own good, for that of their own society, or that of all humanity. It is also by virtue of this right that the Congo will freely determine what sort of relations it will have with Belgium.

Genuine independence within the interdependence of free nations, the total liberation of the Congo from every form of guardianship:

that is what our people aspire to, and this is what it is incumbent upon sincere patriots to proclaim in the full light of day.

It would be a shame, a great shame, for the inhabitants of this country — and above all for the Belgian administration — if the Congo were to continue to be subjected to the rule of a colonial empire at a time when enlightened world opinion condemns the domination of one people by another.

The work of colonization undertaken by Belgium in the Congo must be limited in time and in space. In our opinion, this limit has been more than attained.

We want to free ourselves in order to collaborate with Belgium in freedom, equality, and dignity. Collaboration is not possible when the relationship is one of subjugation. The Congolese must enjoy the immediate and total exercise of fundamental freedoms and every sort of political, administrative, private, and public right.

We do not exclude the possibility that a confident, fruitful, and lasting collaboration between the Congo and Belgium or between the black and white inhabitants of this country can be effected once we have won our independence. Belgians, like any other foreign residents, will continue to live in the Congo. But this collaboration will be possible only if Belgium understands, from this day forward, the Congolese people's wishes for dignity and freedom, and if she does not inordinately delay their liberation but voluntarily agrees to put an end to the colonialist regime.

Nor can the independence that we demand in the name of peace be considered by Belgium as a gift; on the contrary, it is a question of the enjoyment of a right that the Congolese people have lost.

We rightfully appreciate the contribution that Belgium, the Belgians, and foreigners have made to the development of the Congo. The progress made thus far in the economic and social field surpasses that of certain other countries, as we have seen with our own eyes. But where the shoe pinches is the fact that the Belgian government has neglected the political emancipation of the Congolese, and the bettering of the lot of the black woman. In this area our country lags

quite far behind, since less developed countries than ours already enjoy freedom or are on the way to doing so.

It is this gap that we wish to overcome without delay.

We regret the tendency of the Belgian administration to force the Congolese to be what it wants them to be rather than what they want to be. We likewise regret the policy whereby the Congolese are granted only those rights that the government is willing to measure out drop by drop, as an act of charity rather than as legitimate rights that nationals are demanding.

Did European and Western nationalists act any differently in their struggle for the independence of their respective countries?

Let them answer this question.

The arguments of this sort that are thrown in the face of all those fighting for freedom strike us as moves to intimidate us.

Moreover, the notion of Belgian sovereignty in the Congo must also disappear from the colonialist vocabulary. The Congo is not Belgian property; it is a country like any other, and it must enjoy sovereignty just as Belgium does.

The Congolese State will be founded on the equality, the solidarity, and the fraternity of all Congolese.

We are pleased to note that the resolutions of the conference are identical with the views of our movement.

As a matter of quite secondary importance, we protest against the report that has appeared in the press stating that the conference ended in confusion.

This report, which in our eyes constitutes a move to sabotage the conference, is far from being the truth of the matter. On the contrary, the conference ended in a manner that pleased and delighted all the delegations.

Ladies and gentlemen, as you can see, Africa is irrevocably engaged in a merciless struggle against the colonizer for its liberation. Let our compatriots join us in order to serve the national cause more effectively and carry out the will of a people seeking to free itself from the chains of paternalism and colonialism.

The Congolese people must awaken from their slumber and look forward to our independence and our freedom.

The Congo is our homeland. It is our duty to make this homeland greater and more beautiful.

In conclusion, we invite you to raise your voices with us: long live the Congo, long live the National Movement!

On January 4, 1959, serious outbreaks of violence took place in Leopoldville, and several dozen people died in the resulting repression. This riot was as sudden as a clap of thunder in the Congolese "oasis of peace," and the Belgian press was greatly disturbed. The leaders of the Abako were arrested.

On January 13, King Baudouin and the Belgian government took a position on the political and administrative future of the Congo: "We have today resolved to lead the peoples of the Congo toward independence in prosperity and peace."

On February 13, Lumumba sent this note to the minister of the Congo.

THREE DEMANDS OF THE CONGOLESE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

1. Elections by Universal Suffrage

At this moment, when the administration is studying the measures necessary to carry out the reforms that have been envisaged, the Congolese National Movement demands, with regard to the elections, *a system of presentation of plurinominal lists and organization of the elections on the communal level.* This must also be done in the districts and territories.

The MNC is opposed to a system that would divide communes into small voting districts and precincts.

2. The Constitution of the Superior Council and the Legislative Council

The population as a whole would like to know when the Superior

Council [the future Chamber of Deputies] and the Legislative Council [the future Senate of the Congo] are to be set up; it does not understand why that government has set a date for the constitution of lower-level councils and not for higher bodies.

The setting of a date for the constitution of higher bodies is of capital importance for the inhabitants; it is the only step that will earn the trust of each of them.

We believe that on the psychological plane it is to the government's complete advantage to set this date.

3. The Creation of a Commission for Political Development

In order that the policy envisaged may be better oriented, the Congolese National Movement requests that a political commission, in which Congolese will actively participate, be set up in Leopoldville.

This commission, which will function *independently* of the Congolese administration, will be entrusted with the task of seeing that the new policy is rigorously implemented and of suggesting directly to the minister any sort of solution it considers useful in order to speed up the creation of the institutions envisaged in the government's declaration.

The development of political organizations went ahead apace in the Congo, and parties multiplied. But Lumumba was almost the only leader who remained convinced that international contacts were a precious and very effective aid in the struggle of the Congolese people. He therefore decided to leave for Ibadan (Nigeria), where on March 22 he addressed the closing session of the International Seminar, organized by the Congress for the Freedom of Culture and by the University of Ibadan.

AFRICAN UNITY AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

I thank the Congress for Freedom and Culture and the University of Ibadan for the kind invitation they extended me to attend this

international conference, where the fate of our beloved Africa is being discussed.

It has been most gratifying to me to meet here a number of African ministers, men of letters, labor union leaders, journalists, and international figures interested in the problems of Africa.

It is through these person-to-person contacts, through meetings of this sort, that African leaders can get to know each other and draw closer together in order to create that union that is indispensable for the consolidation of African unity.

In fact, the African unity so ardently desired by all those who are concerned about the future of this continent will be possible and will be attained only if those engaged in politics and the leaders of our respective countries demonstrate a spirit of solidarity, concord, and fraternal collaboration in the pursuit of the common good of our peoples.

That is why the union of all patriots is indispensable, especially during this period of struggle and liberation.

The aspirations of colonized and enslaved peoples are everywhere the same; their lot too is the same. Moreover, the aims pursued by nationalist movements in any African territory are also the same. The common goal is the liberation of Africa from the colonialist yoke.

Since our objectives are the same, we will attain them more easily and more rapidly through union than through division.

These divisions, which the colonial powers have always exploited the better to dominate us, have played an important role — and are still playing that role — in the suicide of Africa.

How can we extricate ourselves from this impasse?

In my view, there is only one way: bringing all Africans together in popular movements or unified parties.

All tendencies can coexist within these parties bringing all nationals together, and each will have its say, both in the discussion of problems facing the country and in the conduct of public affairs.

A genuine democracy will be at work within these parties and each one will have the satisfaction of expressing its opinions freely.

The more closely united we are, the better we will resist oppression, corruption, and those divisive maneuvers which experts in the policy of "divide and rule" are resorting to.

This wish to have unified parties or movements in our young countries must not be interpreted as a tendency toward political monopoly or a certain brand of dictatorship. We ourselves are against despotism and dictatorship.

I wish to draw everyone's attention to the fact that it is the height of wisdom to thwart from the very outset any possible maneuvers on the part of those who would like to profit from our apparent political rivalries in order to set us against each other and thus delay our freeing ourselves from the colonialist regime.

Experience proves that in our African territories the opposition that certain people create in the name of democracy is often not inspired by a concern for the common welfare; a thirst for glory and the furthering of personal interests are the principal, if not the only, motives for this.

It is only when we have won the independence of our countries and when our democratic institutions are stabilized that the existence of a pluralist political system will be justified.

The existence of an intelligent, dynamic, and constructive opposition is indispensable in order to counterbalance the political and administrative action of the government in power. But this moment does not appear to have arrived yet, and dividing our efforts today would be to render our country a disservice.

All our compatriots must be persuaded that they will not serve the general interest of the country if they are divided or if they foster such divisions, any more than they would serve it by balkanizing our country and partitioning it into weak little states.

Once the territory was balkanized, it would be difficult to achieve national unity again.

Calling for African unity and then destroying its very foundations is hardly proof of a genuine desire for such unity.

In the struggle that we are peacefully waging today to win our independence, we do not intend to drive Europeans out of this continent or seize their possessions or persecute them. We are not pirates.

On the contrary, we respect individuals and the rights of others to well-being.

The one thing we are determined to do—and we would like others to understand us—is to root out colonialism and imperialism from Africa. We have long suffered and today we want to breathe the air of freedom. The Creator has given us this share of the earth that goes by the name of the African continent; it belongs to us and we are its only masters. It is our right to make this continent a continent of justice, law, and peace.

All of Africa is irrevocably engaged in a merciless struggle against colonialism and imperialism. We wish to bid farewell to the rule of slavery and bastardization that has so severely wronged us. Any people that oppresses another people is neither civilized nor Christian.

The West must free Africa as soon as possible.

The West must examine its conscience today and recognize the right of each colonized territory to freedom and dignity.

If the colonialist governments promptly understand our aspirations, we will negotiate with them, but if they stubbornly insist on considering Africa their possession, we will be obliged to consider the colonizers the enemies of our emancipation. Under these circumstances, we will regretfully cease to be friends with them.

I hereby publicly take it upon myself to thank all those Europeans who have spared no effort to help our peoples improve their lot. All humanity will be grateful to them for the magnificent mission of humanization and emancipation they are carrying out in certain parts of Africa.

We do not want to cut ourselves off from the West, for we are

quite aware that no people in the world can be self-sufficient. We are altogether in favor of friendship between races, but the West must respond to our appeal.

Westerners must understand that friendship is not possible when the relationship between us is one of subjugation and subordination.

The disturbances that are occurring at present in certain African territories will continue to occur if the administrative powers do not put an end to the colonial regime. This is the only possible path to genuine peace and friendship between African and European peoples.

We have an imperative need for financial, technical, and scientific aid from the West aimed at rapid economic development and the stabilization of our societies.

But the capital our countries need must be invested in the form of mutual aid between nations. National governments will give this foreign capital every sort of guarantee it wishes.

The Western technicians to whom we make an urgent appeal will come to Africa not to dominate us but to serve and aid our countries.

Europeans must recognize and come to accept the idea that the liberation movement that we are engaged in throughout Africa is not directed against them, nor against their possessions, nor against their persons, but purely and simply against the regime of exploitation and enslavement that we are no longer willing to tolerate. If they agree to put an immediate end to this regime instituted by their predecessors, we will live in friendship and brotherhood with them.

A twofold effort must be made to hasten the industrialization of our various regions and the economic development of the country. To this end, we address an appeal to friendly countries to send us an abundance of capital and many technicians.

The lot of black workers must be appreciably improved. The wages they earn at present are clearly insufficient. The dire poverty of the working classes is the source of many of the social conflicts that exist at present in our countries. Labor unions have a great role to play in

this regard, the role of protectors and educators. It is not enough merely to demand a raise in wages; there is also a great need to educate workers in order that they may become conscious of their professional, civic, and social obligations, and also acquire a clear conception of their rights.

On the cultural plane, the new African states must make a serious effort to further African culture. We have a culture all our own, unparalleled moral and artistic values, an art of living and patterns of life that are ours alone. All these African splendors must be jealously preserved and developed. We will borrow from Western civilization what is good and beautiful and reject what is not suitable for us. This amalgam of African and European civilization will give Africa a civilization of a new type, an authentic civilization corresponding to African realities.

Efforts must also be made to free our peoples psychologically. A certain conformism is noticeable on the part of many intellectuals, and its origins are well known.

This conformism stems from the moral pressures and the reprisals to which black intellectuals have often been subjected. The minute they have told the truth, they have been called dangerous revolutionaries, xenophobes, provocateurs, elements that must be closely watched, and so on.

These moves to intimidate us and corrupt our morals must cease. We need genuine literature and a free press that brings the opinion of the people to light, rather than more propaganda leaflets and a muzzled press.

I hope that the Congress for Freedom and Culture will aid us along these lines.

We hold out a fraternal hand to the West. Let it today give proof of the principle of equality and friendship between races that its sons have always taught us as we sat at our desks in school, a principle written in capital letters in the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man. Africans must be just as free as other citizens of the

human family to enjoy the fundamental liberties set forth in this declaration and the rights proclaimed in the United Nations Charter.

The period of racial monopolies is now at an end.

African solidarity must take concrete form in facts and acts. We must form a bloc in order to demonstrate our brotherhood to the world.

In order to do so, I suggest that governments that have already won their independence give every possible aid and support to countries that are not yet independent.

In order to further cultural exchanges and the rapprochement of French-speaking and English-speaking countries, the teaching of both French and English should be made compulsory in all African schools. A knowledge of both these languages will put an end to the difficulties of communication that French-speaking and English-speaking Africans encounter when they meet. This is an important factor for their interaction.

Territorial barriers must also be done away with so that Africans may travel freely between the various African states.

Scholarships should also be set up for students in the dependent territories.

I want to take advantage of the opportunity here offered me to pay honor publicly to Dr. Kwame N'Krumah and Mr. Sekou Touré for having succeeded in liberating our brothers in Ghana and Guinea.

Africa will not be truly free and independent as long as any part of this continent remains under foreign domination.

I conclude my remarks with this passionate appeal:

Africans, let us rise up!

Africans, let us unite!

Africans, let us walk hand in hand with those who want to help us make this beautiful continent a continent of freedom and justice!

At this juncture the Congolese political parties were divided on the questions of federalism and a united front. On March 9, Minister van Hemelrijck had decided to free the leaders of the Abako, but this party remained resolutely determined to promote the establishment of the Republic of the Central Kongo. Eight organizations decided at this point to hold the first congress of the unitarian parties in Luluabourg, April 9-12. The position taken by Lumumba and his followers was supported by Iléo and Kalonji, among others. As the congress of Luluabourg ended, Lumumba declared:

Two essential points have emerged. The fact, first of all, that the assembly unanimously proclaimed itself to be in favor of the unity of the Congo and the constitution of a unitarian government. This position, which was accepted by everyone, is certain, from this day forward, to thwart the maneuvers of certain persons who have often recommended the establishment of federal states, which was bound to lead to a rapid "balkanization" of the Congo. This is one capital point. The second principal point is that the congress likewise pronounced itself unanimously in favor of the establishment of a Congolese government in January 1961.

As is clear from the government statement of January 13, the "new policy" of Belgium took the form of unilaterally imposing measures aimed at the democratization and the subsequent autonomy of the Congo. Congolese political groups soon afterward demanded mutual consultations, and then genuine negotiations, to determine the future of the country. This was the case, among others, in the texts drawn up by the leaders of the Abako in Brussels on March 16 and at the end of April.

In a similar vein, on April 20, 1959, the Interfédérale specifically stated in its memorandum: "It is necessary to study the means of putting the declaration of January 13 into effect, through commissions including Congolese from all over the country and Belgians

from Africa and from Belgium." On April 21, Lumumba again demanded political negotiation.

Following the deliberations of the congress and the resolutions that have been adopted, we are now counting on negotiating with Belgium; we hope that she will be sufficiently on the alert and vigilant enough to admit the necessity and the legitimacy of these negotiations that we wish to embark upon in the name of the Congolese people. It must not be forgotten that the superior interests of Belgium are at stake. It can no longer be denied that the political organizations that now exist in the Congo, which have just stated their position at the conclusion of the deliberations that we have attended, are representative of black opinion. To refuse to grant these political organizations the dialogue and the negotiations that they are seeking in the name of peace would be to disappoint not only those who can help Belgium carry out its new policy, but also all those sectors of the population who have expressed their confidence in the leaders of these organizations. A refusal by Belgium to negotiate with these leaders would be catastrophic.

On April 22, 1959, at the invitation of the Cercle du Libre Examen (the Club of Free Examination), Patrice Lumumba delivered a long lecture, followed by a debate, at the Free University of Brussels. Three days later, on April 25, the president of the Congolese National Movement continued his report in a speech delivered to the Amis de Présence Africaine. It is the second speech that is published below. The opening remarks of this message have been lost, however, due to a technical error at the time the speech was recorded.

Lumumba gave numerous lectures in Belgium, all of which were attended by sizable audiences. He enjoyed making contact with the most diverse sorts of groups, and fiercely refused to allow himself to be coopted by any one group or party.

THE CONGO OF TOMORROW

We have capable men who are just waiting for a chance to get to work. I visited Guinea recently: there are eleven ministers in the government, and seven state secretaries who have ministerial status. Only three of these eighteen ministers have studied at a university; the others have finished high school, held jobs, and acquired a certain amount of experience, and the government of Guinea has brought in French technicians to help it in the field of law, economics, agronomy, and every other area of activity. So I think it is possible today to set up a Congolese government.

We have chosen January 1961 as our deadline. We thus have two years in which to prepare ourselves, and we are convinced that two years from now we will be in a position to take over the responsibilities of running our country, with the Belgians working side by side with us to help us and guide our footsteps. If Belgium understands us, if Belgium takes this fervent desire — the desire of the Congolese people — into consideration, she will be entitled to our friendship. The people will see for themselves that when the proper moment came and we decided we were capable of self-rule, the Belgians did not stand in our way. On the contrary: they will have helped and guided us. The question of the future relations between Belgium and the Congo will resolve itself automatically. There will be no difficulty whatsoever. We are the ones to say: look, we still need Belgium in this field of endeavor, we still need European technicians. But if the Belgian people, the Belgian government, refuse to take our demands into consideration, what will happen as a result? The government perpetuates bitterness and fosters a climate of continual discontent, and whatever the Belgians may say, whatever their wishes in the matter may be, we are going to gain our independence, come what may. In the end the Congolese people are liable to say: "Belgium has always been opposed to our emancipation. We've had enough of that now; we're going our own sep-

arate way. . . ." And that is precisely the problem. Everyone — the financiers, the colonialists — keeps asking for guarantees. But such guarantees depend entirely on them, because winning our independence does not mean that we are going to seize property belonging to Belgians; we are not thieves, we respect other people's property. It is a matter of a gentleman's agreement with the status of an international right; when any citizen finds himself in another country, his property and his person must be protected. This is the problem as we see it.

So today we want our country to be independent. We want to run our country now so that we may draw up agreements between an independent Congo and an independent Belgium on an equal footing, and thus foster friendship between these two peoples.

I am very happy to meet young Belgians here who share our ideas, progressive young Belgians who agree with us, who will help press for Congolese independence tomorrow and are joining forces with us. This is encouraging. It proves that they are dissatisfied, that they disapprove of the attitude of certain Belgians in the Congo today. I do not want to make any sort of sweeping general statement: there are Belgians in the Congo — certain civil servants, certain colonists, certain doctors, certain missionaries — who have always treated Africans in a dignified way. But they are no more than a minority. Why are the majority opposed? Belgians in the Congo believe that when the blacks get their independence tomorrow, they are going to seize everything Belgians own. This is still the usual reaction among typical Europeans, even after the new policy, even after the declaration on January 13. They keep saying: "These are the blacks who are going to take our places tomorrow, and where will that put us? Where will we go?" That is the reaction of all these colonists. There are a few today who are willing to change, and there are also those who refuse to do so, who are even sabotaging the policy that has just been laid down by Belgium — so seriously that there is general discontent in the Congo today. And we must have the courage to denounce these plots, these maneuvers that are taking shape in the

Congo. There are still certain Europeans who are determined to divide blacks, to set one against the other. Here in Belgium certain Africans have been gulled into making declarations and attacking certain sectors of the population.

We want to secure our independence through the united effort of all. We want the Belgians to put a stop to their divisive policy. We must understand each other, and they must join forces with us. This is how we can build a Congolese nation, through the friendship of all. I think — I am in fact convinced, and optimistic enough to believe that despite everything, despite the insults, the moves to intimidate us, the threats that have been made, we have chosen the path we will follow and the sort of struggle we will wage, one that will continue to be nonviolent, and I believe that the events of January fourth will not be repeated. We too-decry violence. We have chosen just one weapon for our struggle, and that weapon is non-violence, because we believe that whatever the goal, it can be reached by peaceful means. That is what our struggle represents, and that is why I call for the moral support of every friend of humanity, of all those who believe that every human being, whatever the color of his skin, whatever his social status, can and must enjoy the same freedoms as every other citizen of humanity. [Applause.]

Q. Can you say a few words about the ties your movement has with other parties which have the same aim in the Congo, if there are any such?

A. Our ties are ties of friendship and fraternal collaboration with all parties and groups that are pursuing the same objective we are. Small political parties do exist today. There are a great many being formed every day, and throughout all this, there has been constant conniving by Europeans, who keep urging the Congolese to create little political parties that will spring up like mushrooms — their one purpose being to cause confusion. In order to put a stop to these maneuvers, we organized a congress at Luluabourg to which all the political parties were invited, and we explained to everyone that we

were all pursuing the same objective: serving the general interest of the country. Since our aim is one and the same, that is to say the liberation of the country, the independence of the country, why should we be divided?

We therefore formed a Common Front and passed a resolution providing for the independence of the Congo and the establishment of a Congolese government in January 1961. All the political parties signed the resolution and came out in favor of this deadline, and we set a date for the second congress, which is to take place in October of this year, for the express purpose of drawing up an electoral platform, so that where there are one, two, or three political parties in the same locality, a single electoral list can be drawn up. In places where there is only one party such as ours, which already has local chapters throughout the Congo, this party will stand for election all by itself. All this obviously is a united front for the attainment of our freedoms.

Q. Mr. Lumumba, what was the opinion of Africans at this point regarding the role that they would be called on to play and would like to play in activities organized on an international basis — I am thinking in particular of the United Nations, of specialized institutions such as UNESCO, the World Health Organization, the International Labor Organization, and so forth. I would like to ask you two questions: Many of us would like to know who is discussing these problems in Africa at this time. What measures have been taken thus far by the Belgian government and by Africans themselves with regard to this question? Do Africans hear it discussed on the radio? For example, have basic texts, in particular texts relative to the Declaration of the Rights of Man, been translated into any of the African languages?

In your opinion and that of many Africans, it would be useful if certain relations were established between the Belgian Parliament and the leaders of the various Congolese political parties. In some countries — in England in particular — certain organizations that have no connection with the government have managed to organize

such contacts even though they have very limited financial means: the African Bureau in London, for example, the aim of which is to put Africans in touch with members of the British Parliament without regard to party affiliations. A sort of nucleus of members of Parliament has thus been formed to consider African and colonial questions. I would appreciate it very much if you would discuss for a moment how useful you think such relations would be to both parties when you speak of the relations between Congolese political leaders and members of the Belgian Parliament.

A. With regard to the United Nations and specialized institutions, the Congolese populace has absolutely no knowledge either of the program they have for the Congo or of discussions concerning it. Very often the only people who have any information are a handful of intellectuals who have access to certain documents or pick up a piece of information here and there. The government has no plans for a news program on the subject. We studied this problem when the Committee of the Pan-African Conference met recently at Conakry, and I made a public statement to be transmitted to the United Nations, urging that a change be made in the United Nations Charter along these lines, since there is a very clear distinction between trust territories and nonautonomous territories. In the case of trust territories, such as the Cameroons, Togoland, and Rwanda-Burundi, a United Nations Commission on Trusteeship goes out to interview the chiefs and the population and question them firsthand about their aspirations and possible complaints. There is thus permanent surveillance of these territories. But in the Congo and the other nonautonomous territories, there is no such surveillance, and each time, for example, that Belgium or any other country is questioned on the subject, the reply is that "these are internal affairs." Obviously certain abuses can thus be camouflaged, and we have said: it is not because these Africans were colonized by Germans, who were later driven out by others, that they are now the ones best colonized; it's because they've come under the trusteeship of the United Nations. And we have asked that all African

territories have the same status. It should be possible to make such a change in the charter, because we are as much human beings as the peoples of the other African territories. There must be permanent surveillance by the United Nations in all the African territories. A definite date must be set, so that within two years all the African territories will become independent within the framework of international peace set forth in the United Nations Charter.

When I went to Paris, I tried to contact the representative of UNESCO and get specific information in this regard, because we have just set up a permanent secretariat of the National Movement. We need to have the specific information necessary to know what is going on at the United Nations and learn of its resolutions and investigations. We will thus have an overall view of the problems that concern the Congo and Africa, for our personal information, and I believe that I will be able to contact the proper persons. There is no program for this purpose on the part of the government. We therefore want to make a personal effort, for the entire population in our country is eager to know what is happening in the United Nations and in the specialized organizations.

Q. I believe that there are plans within the framework of the United Nations Information Service for other movements, privately organized outside of the government, youth organizations, political parties and so on . . . and that in certain cases information is sent them. Do you know of any libraries or organizations that may have obtained such information?

A. No, I do not know of any. What I do know is that most of the libraries that have been set up in the Congo are state libraries, where as a matter of fact there is a certain amount of censorship. The only material put in these libraries is what the government wants put there, and the Congolese don't trust them. This is why the Congolese make very little use of any of the official libraries run by the administration; they prefer to order the books they want rather than visiting a library where the only thing they find is novels or unimportant little books that don't tell them anything.

As for contacts with members of Parliament, they are very important, because political parties, as they are organized today, are legitimate representatives of the opinion of the population. These political parties must have the chance to be in constant contact with members of Parliament, to inform members of Parliament about the problems of the country and the future progress of the country. The administration itself, however well intentioned it may be, is not in a position to know about the problems of the country, because very often, even when members of Parliament — the Labor Group — visit the Congo, they invite the tribal chieftains who are the administration's real intermediaries in to see them; and these tribal chieftains tell them only those things that will please the administrator, the commandant of the district, and never say what they think or what the people think, so that these members of Parliament are frequently misled; and the conclusions they draw from their mission, from their visit to the Congo, do not always reflect the opinion of the people. But political parties, which have no ties to the government, which are neutral, which really represent the opinion of the populace, could provide the Belgian Parliament with genuine information, and thus it is necessary for Parliament to allow negotiations, to allow dialogues between its members and political leaders.

Q. I would like to know what in your opinion the psychological reaction was, on the one hand in white circles and on the other hand in African circles, when Mr. Cornélis* returned to the country.

A. The reaction of the European population was one of joy because it had demanded that Mr. Cornélis remain in office. A delegation was even sent to meet with the minister and the king for this purpose. Petitions were circulated demanding that he be kept in office. As for the Congolese populace, I don't know what its psychological reactions were, because at the time Mr. Cornélis's mandate was confirmed, at the time he returned to the Congo, I was no

* Mr. Cornélis was the governor-general. (Editor's note.)

longer in the country and thus could not tell you what the reaction of the Congolese people was.

Q. Mr. Lumumba, you spoke of the political education of the Congolese masses, which was definitely going to be initiated by the Congolese movement or by the political parties. I would like to ask you if you have a program for this and if you can describe it in more detail today.

A. Our program for this is to be carried out within the framework of the Congolese National Movement. We already have chapters in Leopoldville. We have a chapter in each community, and chapters have already been set up in many provinces of the Congo; this activity will continue down through the end of this year. We will thus have chapters in the capital city of each territory and in all the posts in the interior, and each time that speeches are given or instructive discussions take place in any area, we will have them mimeographed. The chapters hold general meetings, which educate those who take part in them. The members discuss the lecture and voice their objections, and we are going to get the leaders to organize frequent discussions and informative talks within the framework of the local organizations.

We have plans, of course, to publish a party newspaper in the months to come, which will serve as a link between the party and its members.

As for the problems of young people, we are also starting youth movements as of now, for Congolese young people have been badly neglected for the most part, and we must concern ourselves with recruiting and educating them. We will thus have chapters in each commune, in each district, as well as an organization on the national level. And we will also have women's chapters — there are already some. Women have their own particular problems. In this way, we will be able to draw in all levels of the population, including women and young people, and advertise the programs of civic education for the people, so to speak, through newspapers and public reports. In order to do this, I call on our students here in

Belgium. They should not only work toward getting their own education; it would also be desirable for them to conduct certain studies and send me suggestions during my stay here in Belgium or forward them to me in Leopoldville. Here in Belgium they have been able to follow the efforts to organize young people's and women's movements, and I believe they can provide reports on how this was done. We will have continuing discussions on the subject between university students now in Europe and our organizations in the Congo. Very often too, when a person is coming home on vacation, he will be able to write us and we will go meet him when he arrives, introduce him at a meeting, and have him give a talk in the city on this subject or that. This, it seems to me, is how the consciousness of each individual, of each intellectual, will be awakened.

We must concern ourselves more and more with this education of the populace. . . .

Q. (MR. ARONSTEIN, secretary-general of the League for the Rights of Man). The various Congolese political parties that met in Luabourg agreed to demand or recommend that a Congolese government be created and installed in office in January 1961. I would like to ask Mr. Lumumba whether in his opinion and that of his colleagues this Congolese government will be a government formed in a completely independent state of the Congo, or whether he envisages an interim form of government enjoying an autonomy that would be rather broad but not absolute and at the same time would remain within the framework of Belgian sovereignty, as was the case in French Africa and in British Africa in particular?

A. Our position on this subject is very definite. It is not a question of a drastic and sudden break with the Belgian administration, because we know that in many areas we still need Belgium's experience, but what we are asking for is the establishment of a Congolese government in the month of January 1961. Once it is set up, it is this government which, through the voice of its legitimate representatives, will study the final form: either the adoption of total independence or the continuation of certain ties with Belgium. Let

us suppose, for example, that we do not have sufficient cadres at that time for defense, the army, or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as is quite possible. Even if the government is already set up, this aid could still be provided by Belgium. But all this obviously depends on the negotiations and the proposals that may be put before us by the Belgian Parliament, and in the light of the views expressed at that time by each side, I believe that a rational formula will be reached that will be much more advantageous to the Congolese government.

Q. (MR. ARONSTEIN). If I have rightly understood Mr. Lumumba's view of the matter, he has in mind the establishment in January 1961 of a government that will have sovereignty and negotiate on an equal footing with the Belgian government with regard to the final or future form of government in the Congo and the relations between Belgium and the Congo.

Moreover, in the speech Mr. Lumumba delivered at the University of Brussels, he declared in answer to a question concerning Belgian investments and interests in the Congo that, as he has stated here, it was a question neither of expropriation nor of appropriation, but that once the Congolese government was set up, it would naturally, by virtue of its sovereignty, be the judge of which agreements previously entered into by the colonial power, without of course consulting the natives of the country, ought to be respected, and which agreements, in the view of the Congolese government, ought to be subject to revision. I would like to ask him the following question: I do not doubt for a moment the legitimacy of such a position. But I would like to know if he does not entertain certain fears as to the possibility of an economic crisis in the Congo if a situation of this sort is created, that is to say if a certain atmosphere of insecurity, at least from the economic point of view, becomes widespread; and whether the Congo in such a case might not run a certain risk of finding itself in the same situation that has confronted many countries in Eastern Europe, namely, having to proceed quite rapidly, with means that are perhaps insufficient in

the beginning, from a position that from the economic point of view has advanced very slightly, to the development of a modern country; and if this process, the legitimacy of which I do not question for an instant, might not have as an almost inevitable consequence the entrenchment of what is euphemistically called a "strong power" and which might also be called more or less of a dictatorship. In certain African states that have recently been granted their independence, there are certain examples that might perhaps justify this fear—and I should like to ask whether this does not constitute a threat to the scrupulous respect of the rights of man in the Congo, at least in the first days of its existence as an independent nation, a problem that Mr. Lumumba has stated is of as serious concern to him as it is to us.

A. I believe that I must speak freely and frankly to you with regard to this subject. I have often questioned even ordinary workmen, and thus conducted a sort of public opinion poll. I have asked them: "When we have won our independence, do you think we will have to take this property back?" Their answer has been: "No, why should we take it back? What we want is our freedom. We aren't interested in their property at all; the way we see it, when we are independent conditions may well change, and we may perhaps have more possibilities and be as rich as the Europeans."

I don't think there is any risk involved here, because in all honesty I have often spoken with people from various classes of the population, and they have no intentions of this sort. But as you have rightly emphasized, it is possible that certain agreements that the colonial power has entered into are not compatible with the future development or the interests of the Congolese state and that a quite normal review of them will be undertaken, as Belgium or any other country in the world would do.

But all this will be the subject of negotiations, of discussions, of agreements so that neither party is harmed. Even the security of investments will depend on what the Belgian government does to

hasten our attainment of self-determination. I can say to you: yes, I will give you guarantees. But if the people have the impression today that they are being persecuted, if they have the impression that Belgian power wishes to delay their emancipation at any price, then the day when this people finally wins its sovereignty by brute force, there will be a sort of vengeance because of the bitterness that will have been felt. "That's that," the people will say. "These men are wicked; we have demanded our rights for years and they have never been willing to give them to us. It is through force or some sort of intervention that we have won our independence; they weren't nice to us." That is the truth, and as the minister said again yesterday, a matter of people's feelings. But even though for the moment there has been no recourse to violence and no hostility toward the Belgian administration, on the other hand there definitely are demands being made. Of the territories that are already autonomous, there are some that are independent and others that are presumably going to become so, and it is to be hoped that within a few years the entire territory will become independent. But what do we see? The Congo today is one of the countries farthest behind, one of the most backward countries from the point of view of political emancipation. When one visits Brazzaville, which is less advanced than Leopoldville from every point of view, one finds ministers, deputies, a prime minister who is an abbé. . . . But there is absolutely nothing being done in the Congo. I have the impression that the Belgians do not want to help us get ahead. So we are beginning to doubt Belgium's sincerity.

But if we now draw up a list of demands and Belgium says: "All right, we'll give you your autonomous government, but we want security and don't want to lose what we've already invested in the Congo or what we're now willing to invest for economic development," then the people will be satisfied. When we first asked for our sovereignty, they helped us, and I readily admit that they closed their eyes to certain rules, if only for moral reasons. But these men will be compensated for the benefits they have extended us;

we have reserved certain privileges for them: Belgians will be given preference as regards investments and the hiring of technicians. All this depends, however, on whether Belgium grants our wishes at this point. Otherwise all the rest will be resolved without any fear on our part. What I am expressing are my deepest feelings, and they are the feelings of the people. Our feelings are going to change if we are disappointed by the regime.

Q. You said yesterday that the population, which used to number at least thirty million, has declined to five and a half million. What is the source of these figures? Who made such a population study in the past?

A. I am happy to answer you. Read a work entitled *The Future of the Congo Is Threatened*, written by Mr. Delcommune, one of the men who built the Congo. It is an old work that can be found in the government's official libraries.

Q. Do you believe that the Congolese masses are really interested in the political problem you have just told us about? Isn't their confidence in you simply a desire to regain their dignity?

A. All the Congolese masses, both those in the big cities and those in the interior, are actively interested in this problem. They are far more revolutionary, in fact, than we are. They are fearful — they are afraid of reprisals — but they are behind us. The masses do not always dare express themselves and present their demands to a police commissioner or an administrator, but when we go among them, it is they who urge us on; they want to go ahead much faster than we do. But as reasonable men, we think this over and do not agree, we believe that it will take at least. . . .

Q. Are you going to seem to be some sort of traitors in the eyes of the masses if you try to put the brakes on a little?

A. Not at all, because it is our duty to educate, to inform these masses and tell them: "We quite agree, your desire is legitimate, but there are difficulties." And the masses understand and follow us.

Q. Would the Congolese National Movement allow whites to join its ranks?

A. The MNC is not an antiwhite movement. It is not racist. If a sincere European, whose intentions we were certain of, wanted to join our movement, the committee would study the question and then decide. But we naturally cannot accept opportunists or spies in our ranks whose only reason for coming to us would be to attempt to subvert the movement.

Q. Is it difficult to know whether Europeans are sincere?

A. We know whether they are or not, because the Europeans who are in the Congo have been there for a number of years. We know how they behave toward Africans. And if this European or that has always been friendly toward Africans, there is no problem, we accept him. But if we know that he has always been a reactionary who is against our emancipation and is now coming to us only out of a sort of opportunism, we are perfectly aware that it is hypocrisy.

Q. A person who was unable to attend the lecture has sent in a question that we are going to ask: in its final resolutions, the Accra Conference took a strong stand in favor of the total independence of Africa by 1960. But not all the African territories will be freed of colonial guardianship by that date. This will obviously be the case in the Congo. They will thus be going counter to the resolution. As a member of the Permanent Committee of Accra, can you tell us whether it has envisaged any sort of action, any measures to hasten the independence of these various territories? What are these measures — either overt or covert?

A. Obviously, categorical resolutions were passed, and there were representatives of almost all the already independent states at the Accra Conference. There were also representatives of certain international powers. And the Permanent Committee is there to see that this policy is applied in the various territories. That is why, in the case of South Africa for example, where we know there has

been notorious bad faith, where there is not much reason to hope for the liberation of the Africans who live there, a boycott was declared, and it was decided that economic pressure would be brought to bear so that there would be a boycott of merchandise coming into or out of South Africa by all the independent states that might take part in economic exchanges. Certain Western states also agree with us and are going to act along the same lines, without perhaps taking a public stand. Moral pressure will likewise be exerted. People are going to think and say that exploitation is now out of the question, that the United Nations now exists, that international forums now exist. These people will have anonymous abuse heaped upon them. People will likewise become aware of the fact that political enslavement on the domestic scene is now out of the question and that they must free themselves.

So I think that these civilizing, Christian states are eventually going to realize that it is not at all in their interests to use force to perpetuate a policy that is bound to collapse sooner or later despite all their efforts. The interests of such powers do not lie in dominating these peoples politically, but in guaranteeing the economic interests of financiers, of merchants, of all those who have invested money in the Congo. I have talked with lots of them who tell me: "Mr. Lumumba, you can have your economic independence tomorrow. We approve of this. The only thing we're concerned about is making sure that our investments in the Congo will be safe and we will not be harmed. As for your political independence, the moment we are assured that everything will be all right, we ourselves will put pressure on the government to give you your independence, because once a government is independent, capital is much more secure than when people are still thinking: 'What's going to happen tomorrow; what's going to happen later on?'"

I visited Guinea and saw Frenchmen who told me: "Mr. Lumumba, we are better off now than we were under the old French administration. Our interests are better served by the African administration than by the old French functionaries. And now that

the state is independent, the government even does us favors that the colonial regime never did." And I have heard the same sort of thing in Ghana. And I have also seen a number of requests on the part of Frenchmen who once feared that the Guineans would go on the rampage and seize their property. All this is a reminder that though they left the country on the eve of independence, and even afterward, they have now begun to ask the government to allow them to return to Guinea. I saw a number of requests of this sort in the ministries. And I do not believe that at present there is any civilized country capable of systematically planning to enslave these people despite everything. I don't think, I don't believe, there is any such country — except perhaps South Africa or Portugal.

JEAN VAN LIERDE. In the case of South Africa, it must be said that there are still several important political figures in Belgium who are good friends of the leaders in South Africa, who are often well received here, and our list of accusations must include the fact that in the United Nations and in the Trusteeship Commission Belgium has too often been the only one to side with South Africa when it came to voting on a number of motions for the liberation of the African peoples made by the Afro-Asiatic countries. This must be recorded in the black book against Belgian policy on the international plane. I know that there have not been very many of us who have denounced this paternalist attitude of Belgium in the United Nations down through the years, but I believe that we must continue to point this out and above all hope that it will come to an end and that in the future we will not see the Belgian delegates on the Trusteeship Commission side with South Africa too frequently when votes are taken.

PATRICE LUMUMBA. In this regard, I shall take the liberty of saying that I definitely recall the times Belgium voted in favor of South Africa. This did Belgium's cause enormous damage in the Congo. When the press reported it, I heard Africans in all the cafés saying: "Belgium is siding with South Africa, and this proves

that she is trying to institute the same policy in the Congo; we've already seen signs of it in Katanga, where these people want to create a second South Africa." This did Belgium's cause immense harm in the minds of the populace, and people looked with great disfavor on Belgium for having sided with such a power because it was imperialist, in order to maintain its position in certain territories. Very often during my travels in Africa, I have met Africans of independent countries who attend UN meetings and who have told me: "Belgium is a bad power." Every time a power is censured for its bad colonial administration, even in the case of France, Belgium has always voted on that power's side. And these colonialist powers form a bloc within the United Nations in order to defend their position at all times. This has done Belgium's cause enormous harm and it may have caused repercussions in the Congo. What you have pointed out so clearly is of such great importance that I believe that Belgium ought to be careful, because everything she does in the United Nations is watched very closely by the people in the Congo.

Q. I would nonetheless like to put Mr. Lumumba somewhat on his guard against this happy and joyous optimism he feels with regard to the independence promised the Belgian Congo, and tell him to be a bit wary of what he calls colonialism, which is a force that is far from being dead. I would therefore like to ask him if he has any specific measures in mind in the Congo with regard to the whites there. I am going to tell you in plain words that when people here in Belgium speak of the whites in the Congo, they say: "Their time has come, their death knell has sounded, they're going to be 'kicked out on their asses.'" This is the language you hear in the streets.

I understand your feeling and your view of the matter very well. I agree with them completely. But I believe that your movement should nonetheless apply a little pressure with regard to this aspect of the problem by telling the Belgians who are there—above all

the small fry, who, as you have put it so well, often fear for the stable situation they've created for themselves (the fact that their future is secure after two or three contracts) — that you don't want to "kick them out" bag and baggage because you've seen enough of them, as they may imagine.

I must say, in all truth, that I find you overoptimistic, since you seem to believe that independence is going to give the Congolese people their sovereignty. One question immediately arises. We must look at the course events will take. Let us say that the Congolese Parliament is set up. You form a government and your Parliament passes new laws. It is an absolute fact that one of the first things you must do is make sure that Congolese young people have a minimum of education; this is something we have done here too. If you wish to emancipate your people, if you want to raise their level, you must begin by teaching them to read and write.

The second thing, and perhaps this second point is more important than the first, is to raise the standard of living of workers, and here I think you will soon come up against the colonialist powers that be, even if they are not in your government, because to speak of "raising the standard of living" is also to speak of "cutting down the dividends" and thus the profit on capital invested by the great Belgian trusts, such as the notorious Union Minière in Katanga, to mention just one company.

There is no doubt that even though we are independent, we encounter very serious resistance here every time the workers try to secure a better standard of living, and it is bound to be the same in your country as in ours. This, moreover, is obviously the tacit view that we are already running into in this country: "Yes, but once they are masters in their country, how will the Congolese go about getting themselves out of trouble? The first thing they'll do is ask for things, they'll start making demagogic demands. They won't get themselves out of trouble, it'll be a mess, it'll be anarchy . . . it'll be absolute chaos." Certain people are even going to go so far as to say that the day you get your independence you'll tear each

other apart. I'm simply telling you in a very haphazard sort of way what people's opinions are: they're still admittedly very backward in their thinking. But I tell you this so you'll know that that's what people are thinking, and I must tell you that even in government circles, despite the sweet smiles they're giving you, there are many people who are more or less saying: "We're going to have to keep these people on a leash a while longer, we're going to have to toss them a little lump of sugar. . . ." And that's why I'm telling you to keep your eyes open. [Applause.]

A. I see your point. As specifically regards the education of the people, this is what the situation is: a year ago, the budget for education was cut in the Government Council, even though the budget for education in a colonized country ought to be the largest item of expenditure. It takes money to train cadres, to train technicians. But instead the budget has now been pared down. But if we have our country in our own hands, the largest budget, the most ample budget will be that for education. There are provisions in our program for sending a thousand students per province to Europe, thus making a total of six thousand students who will attend European universities, specialized schools, and technical and professional schools. And all this will be thanks to funds that will be set aside on a priority basis: for instruction, for the training of cadres, for scholarships. What is being done today? We are planning step by step: in such and such a year we are going to educate university students, the following year we'll do something else, and so on.

As for the funds for this, well, we will have them because for the moment we are receiving almost no benefits from, or an insignificant share of, all our wealth and all our raw materials, everything that constitutes the sources of revenue of the nation. But if we take over our country tomorrow, the national revenue will be devoted exclusively to improving the living standards of the workers. How can we be expected to improve the living standards of workers when we have a colonial power that siphons off all the profits? I agree with you absolutely. . . .

Q. Can you tell me the figures on the distribution of revenue in the Congo?

A. Unfortunately, I am not an economist. I don't know what these figures are, but they have been published.

MR. ARONSTEIN. Only one study has been made of the distribution of revenue in the Congo, the one made by the Central Bank of the Belgian Congo and of Rwanda-Burundi and published some time last year. Out of an annual total revenue of sixty billion, half goes to the Congolese and the other half to private companies and taxes. This is roughly the distribution. These statistics can perhaps be disputed, however, because they are extremely hard to come by.

JEAN VAN LIERDE. This same very depressing set of statistics tells us that 30,000 Europeans working in the Congo have incomes equal to or higher than 1,200,000 black wage earners. So we must be very wary, because the government's position, even that defended by Mr. P. H. Spaak, was that in actual fact the Congo cost Belgium money. But a lengthy 500-page thesis, published by a professor at the University of Brussels, proved that the Congo had never cost Belgium anything. . . .

PATRICE LUMUMBA. And that's true. The Congo is the only colony in the world that has made the mother country richer, whereas everywhere else it has been the mother countries that have poured untold amounts of money into developing their colonies. . . .

Q. How was the "single status" received by Africans?

A. "Single status" was warmly welcomed only by the agents of the government, because it did not benefit employees in the private sector at all. Looking back, I know that it did not arouse any great enthusiasm, despite everything; but what has happened now? There has been a downgrading of functions. Those who were appointed as legal draftsmen or territorial agents did not perform the same functions as European draftsmen of the same rank. So I have seen draftsmen in Leopoldville who don't want to be called that, who say: "I'm just an ordinary clerk, they've played a dirty trick on us,

there's nothing in it for us at all, we've simply been given a fancy title. They took us on so as to play politics, but from the point of view of prestige, we don't perform the same functions as European draftsmen." As a result, the "single status" is losing all meaning and is no longer valued even by those who have benefited from it. And I have spoken to the minister about this.

Q. Did he seem to agree?

A. Yes, because he didn't know anything about it. I told him how it was, because these are little things that happen every day in the Congo that he has no knowledge of. He has to be told.

Q. Mr. Lumumba, he would do well to take us on as advisers. Does he have good black advisers?

A. I don't think so. The only advisers he has are Europeans who mislead him.

Q. I don't know if the natives, or rather those who live in native villages, are part of these masses.

A. In what area of activity?

Q. Are you speaking of the political aspect? You were saying that the masses all backed you. We would like to know if youngsters are that enthusiastic about independence and liberation, even in the villages.

A. Yes, in the villages as well. That is why I have said that we were planning to organize groups in the villages in the months to come. In the large villages, we are counting on organizing chapters to be headed by agronomists, by medical assistants, by teachers, as rapidly as possible. As soon as I return to the Congo, we are going to teach the masses, if our finances permit, because if we do not do so (and thus far we have not), there are colonialists in the interior who will keep trying to set the rural populace against the urban populace. . . .

Q. Mr. Lumumba, I would like to ask you if you are planning to extend your activities to Rwanda-Burundi. Have you already had contacts with people there?

A. Yes, we already have a nucleus in Rwanda-Burundi. There

are 36,000 Congolese in Rwanda-Burundi. They have written us to say that they naturally do not enjoy the same rights as the natives of the country, but that they have gotten a foothold there and that something must be done. We are in constant contact with people in Rwanda-Burundi. At the Luluabourg Congress there were two representatives who had come by car all the way from Rwanda-Burundi to Luluabourg, which proves how aware they are of this problem. There was one Congolese and one Rwandese. The Rwandese who was there raised the possibility of forming a federation between the Congo and Rwanda-Burundi once the two countries became independent. So we already are engaged in action that has reached quite far down among Congolese living in Rwanda-Burundi.

Q. Mr. Lumumba, I would like to ask you: Are you more or less free to publicize your efforts, your point of view in the cities and communes of the Congo? Do you have the right to organize meetings and hold public conferences?

A. Yes, we have the right to do so, but very often we are persecuted. You remember the telegram I sent to the minister, which was published in all the Belgian newspapers. In order to be able to hold a public meeting, it is necessary to ask the permission of the first burgomaster, and very often he demands to be told the number of organizations, their names, their addresses, and frequently there is such red tape as having to announce the approximate number of people who will attend the meeting — though not because there will be a great many of them — and we are often the object of this severe sort of harassment.

I am of course able to report that we have freedom when the meetings are private. In such a case, we do not need permission.

In the large cities there is a little more freedom, but in the interior there is none at all. I know a clerk who has just been given a prison sentence, or received one some time ago, because he tried to organize a chapter of the MNC in Inongo. He was hauled into court and got into all sorts of trouble. So you see that this is no guarantee in the Congo.

Q. Would you have more freedom in Belgium than in the Congo?

A. Absolutely. . . .

During his stay in Brussels, Lumumba sent a correction to the Christian-Democratic daily of Leopoldville.

LETTER TO THE COURRIER D'AFRIQUE

Brussels, April 28, 1959

Dear Sir:

Re: *Correction*

A Belgian subscriber to your paper who attended the lecture I gave on April 22 at the Free University of Brussels has just passed on to me—along with an expression of his indignation—the April 24, 1959 issue of the *Courrier d'Afrique*, in which you printed an *inaccurate* summary of this lecture.

What is even more serious and borders on malice is the fact that you allowed yourself singularly to distort my words.

This scarcely surprises me, for I am quite aware of the sly campaign being waged against me in the Congo, either directly, or in underhanded ways. And for good reason! Because along with other freedom fighters, I wish to defend our people's cause.

An all-out effort can be made to destroy us, but in the end the truth always wins out. The people themselves will see what is happening. I now have irrefutable proof.

The third paragraph of the article published in your paper contains this extremely curious phrase (invented out of whole cloth by my detractors): *The head of the MNC also vigorously protested against the attitude of the leaders of the Abako, criticizing them in particular for humiliating their black brothers.*

Everyone who attended my lecture in Belgium is astonished to see such bad faith on the part of the leader of the colonial press.

As a matter of fact, everyone knows that in the course of my lecture I severely criticized, not the leaders of the Abako but rather:

(1) the statements made in Brussels by Mr. Van Hecke, the burgomaster of Leopoldville, who called blacks "frenzied fanatics," and

(2) the leaders of the Interfédérale, who took it upon themselves to attack the leaders of the Abako, in particular Mr. Kasavubu, Mr. Kanza, and Mr. Nzeza.

I protested the fact that the leaders of the Interfédérale had allowed themselves to be maneuvered by the whites into humiliating their Bakongo brothers, when all of us must unite to build our country.

I also protested against the fact that no Bakongo burgomaster was invited to accompany the group of notables visiting Belgium at present. I called such a discriminatory policy to the attention of His Excellency the Minister.

Moreover, in the course of the lecture delivered on Friday, April 24, by His Excellency Minister Van Hemelrijck, I called upon him publicly to make it possible for Mr. Kasavubu and all the political exiles to return to the country. The latter must be allowed to resume their normal life in the country. Their contribution is necessary in order to set up the new institutions that have been announced.

His Excellency the Minister answered me in the affirmative and I thank him for his understanding attitude.

Many circles in Belgium appreciated the position I publicly took in favor of the leaders of the Abako, and the entire Belgian press took notice of it.

How could I have possibly defended my Bakongo brothers and demanded that they be allowed to return to the Congo, and at the same time condemned them?

The Belga Agency, which you cite in the dateline of your dispatch, denies that I made the false statements you attribute to me.

Moreover, the dispatch sent out by this agency, a complete copy of which is in my possession, proves this.

I state once again to you — and your readers must be informed of this fact, once and for all — that the leaders of the MNC are continuing to support solidly both their Bakongo brothers and all those who are fighting for the greatest good of the Congo.

Ever aware of the role that I have taken upon myself, I will never allow myself to be intimidated by the campaign of harassment and calumny that has been directed against me. Nothing — neither threats nor insults — can stop me.

In order to allow your lantern to shine with an even brighter light, I enclose a copy of an authentic report of my lecture published in the Belgian press.

I would be obliged to you if you would publish it in extenso in your next edition. This will enable your readers to see precisely what I said in the course of my lecture.

The present correction is to be published at the same time as the report mentioned above.

Yours sincerely,
PATRICE LUMUMBA

On August 4, 1959, the governor of the province of Kasai proceeded to arrest Baluba leaders and place Albert Kalonji under house arrest in Kole. The administration wanted to deprive the Kasai MNC of its leaders — at the very moment that it was proposing to meet with the political parties to discuss the question of elections. This was also the beginning of a conflict between Balubas and Lulus that became more and more tragic before it finally came to an end after independence in June 1960. Lumumba reacted immediately to these events, as the subsequent documents testify.

TELEGRAM TO THE MINISTER

August 4, 1959

Since Mr. Kalonji is a senator, we believe he should not have been arrested for such an ordinary crime (racial hatred) without prior consultation with the minister of the Congo.

We do not believe that this is the proper moment to proceed with arrests under the provisions of article 75b.

We seriously doubt that these measures are of a sort to bring peace to this country and preserve the administration's prestige.

The remedy for the political dissension that has set the Balubas against the Lulus does not lie in the direction in which the legal authorities of Kasai are attempting to move. The solutions are to be found elsewhere.

We request your prompt intervention in order that Mr. Kalonji may be released.

On July 16, 1959, there had been a split within the MNC, brought about by Iléo, Adoula, Kimbimbi, Nguete, and Ngalula, who formed a joint board of directors in order to restrict the de facto power that Patrice Lumumba had assumed through his continued action. The very next day, the latter called a special meeting to reject the decisions of this "Central Committee." But from this moment on, the MNC was to be divided into two separate factions, on the one hand the Lumumba-MNC, which still sought the support of the entire Congo, and on the other hand the Kalonji-MNC, identifying itself only with the Balubas of Kasai and Leopoldville. Despite this antagonism, after Kalonji's imprisonment Lumumba decided to leave for Luluabourg in order to defend him. The following appeared on August 12.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE MNC CONCERNING THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN LULUABOURG

As the public knows, Mr. Patrice Lumumba, Bertin Tumba, and Barthélemy Mujanayi, respectively the president-general of the Congolese National Movement, the vice-president of the Interfédérale, and the delegate of the Muluba Solidarity Movement, went to Luluabourg on Friday, August 7, in order to examine firsthand the situation that has just arisen in the capital of the province of Kasai because of the arrest of Mr. Albert Kalonji, Mr. Evariste Kalonji, and Mr. Albert Nyembwe, leaders of the MNC and the Muluba Solidarity Movement.

The delegation was received on Friday evening by the governor of the province, Mr. de Jaegher. The meeting lasted one hour and a half.

In a letter sent to the governor, the leaders from Leopoldville expressed themselves in the following terms, among others:

The aim of our mission in Luluabourg is to enter into contact with you, as the head of the province, and also with the various classes of the population in order to find common grounds for agreement concerning the situation obtaining at present in the province of Kasai.

The essential aim of this mission is to arrive, through negotiations that we wish to proceed to engage in, at a calming of troubled minds and the reconciliation of the two antagonistic groups, i.e., the Lulus and the Balubas.

Information gathered from various sources indicates that the present political tension was brought about by the arbitrary arrest of Mr. Albert Kalonji, Mr. Evariste Kalonji, and Mr. Albert Nyembwe, who have committed no other crime than that of legitimately and peaceably defending their political beliefs.

No criminal act appears to have been committed in the exercise of these freedoms.

The populace both of Luluabourg and of other regions of the

Congo is highly indignant at the measures taken by your administration.

These measures are a direct cause of the present state of apprehension in the province of Kasai in particular and throughout the Congo in general.

We believe that it is possible to arrive at a peaceful settlement of these incidents.

In order better to fulfill our mission, may we ask you:

(1) to be so kind as to furnish us a precise explanation of the charges brought against Messrs. Albert Kalonji, Evariste Kalonji, and Albert Nyembwe;

(2) to inform us of the exact number of persons arrested to date for the same reasons, for it has come to our attention that several other persons have been imprisoned in the last two days;

(3) to grant us special permission to hold a general meeting to which we will invite all of the African populace of Luluabourg, as well as the representatives of the administration. Policing may be required on this occasion.

This conference, the aim of which is to calm people's minds, will have beneficial effects.

Along these same lines, we have asked His Excellency the First Burgomaster to give us passes allowing us to go about at night after curfew.

Such passes have been refused members of the delegation, as has permission to hold a meeting to inform the people. Measures instituting a curfew and forbidding public assembly are still in effect. According to reliable information, the administration will not lift these measures as long as the political delegation from Leopoldville remains in Luluabourg, especially Mr. Lumumba, since it is feared that he will take advantage of these meetings to indoctrinate the masses.

Despite these measures, the delegation has had numerous and fruitful contacts with the African populace.

In a request sent from Luluabourg to the minister of the Congo and Rwanda-Burundi, Messrs. Lumumba, Tumba, and Mujanayi have written the following:

The administration apparently rejects our collaboration and all the suggestions we have put before it with the aim of calming people's minds and bringing about the reconciliation of the two antagonistic groups.

Everything that has been done to date demonstrates that the administration chooses to perpetuate a climate of terror and unrest among the populace rather than remedy the situation. The measures that it has taken are considered by the populace to be excessive. Arrests are taking place almost everywhere and certain black functionaries of the administration have also been imprisoned.

We urgently implore you to take the situation in hand and kindly:

— issue an order freeing the political leaders who have been arrested and sent into exile. Freeing them will bring peace to the province. As long as these men are in prison and exiled, the unrest, which threatens to become worse in the weeks to come, will persist. The administration will gain nothing by allowing such a situation to continue.

— send a commission of inquiry to Kasai, for the situation there is very confused.

We are doing what we can to advise the populace to remain calm and collected.

We impatiently await your reply in order to be able to inform the populace.

We have confidence in you and hope that your personal action will soon help to calm people's minds.

On Saturday, August 12, Lumumba telephoned the Offices of the Minister in Brussels in order to stress the need to take immediate steps.

In addition to this telephone conversation, the delegation sent the following telegram to the minister:

WE CONFIRM REPRESENTATIONS AND TELEPHONE CALLS MADE TODAY
KASAI POPULACE VERY DISTURBED UNJUSTIFIED ARRESTS POLITICAL
LEADERS STOP INSIST YOU USE YOUR HIGH AUTHORITY TO SECURE THEIR
IMMEDIATE RELEASE TO AVOID SERIOUS DISTURBANCES STOP THIS RE-

PLEASE INDISPENSABLE FOR RESTORING CALM STOP IMPATIENTLY AWAIT
YOUR DECISION STOP RESPECTFULLY

MUJANAYI — Delegate, Muluba Solidarity Movement

TUMBA — Delegate, Interfédérale

LUMUMBA — President, National Movement

Luluabourg is relatively calm. The people are in a state of apprehension. The populace is impatiently awaiting the minister's reply to the representations made by the delegation from Leopoldville. This delegation is leaving Luluabourg today, August 12, for its first tour through the province to publicize its efforts.

THE POSITION OF THE MNC: BOYCOTTING THE ELECTIONS

August 13, 1959

The Executive Committee of the Congolese National Movement announces to all its members and sympathizers that it has just been informed that several members of the MNC of the Provincial Chapter of Kasai have been sentenced to four months in prison following the events in Luluabourg.

It calls upon all Congolese to join together to demonstrate their patriotic sympathies for those who are suffering for the national cause.

The MNC will not participate in any dialogue with the administration as long as its militants are in prison for an affair for which the administration is entirely responsible.

The MNC will not participate in the coming elections as long as:

- (1) the future institutions are not democratically organized;
- (2) the Belgian government has not set a date for the formation of the Congolese government;
- (3) its militants are in prison.

(Published by *Présence Congolaise*, 8/15/59)

LETTER TO JEAN VAN LIERDE

August 1959

My dear Jean,

I am writing you this note from Luluabourg, where I have been since the seventh of this month. Several leaders of the MNC have been arrested. They have committed no crime; this is colonialist oppression aimed at depriving the MNC of its leaders. But it is wasted effort, for these measures have earned us the sympathy of everyone, even that of those who were opposed to us. We are taking in many new members every day. Tribal chieftains are joining the ranks of the MNC every day. All the members of the Council of Luluabourg have been arrested.

I am sending you a brief report relating some of the facts. I am leaving on a tour tomorrow and will be in Leo around the end of the month. The dissension within the MNC was provoked by the colonialists. The traitors have been expelled and spewed out by the people. My newspaper will come out before the end of the month. I will write you when I get to Leo.

Most sincerely,
PATRICE

LETTER TO JEAN VAN LIERDE

Luluabourg, September 7, 1959

My dear Jean,

I am sending you a copy of a report of the meeting I held in Luluabourg last Sunday. You will also find enclosed a copy of an important motion that was passed by the assembly.

I urgently implore you to get this motion published in the press, for I believe that the Congolese press will not say a word about it. It should be given to Comrade Glinne for publication in *La Gauche*.

I am going ahead with my campaign tour in the province of Kasai. I have been here for more than a month and am going back to Leopoldville on the twelfth of this month. More than sixty chieftains have rallied to the MNC; I am foiling the administration's maneuvers. I have had dazzling success everywhere.

Did you receive the letter I sent you from Leopoldville early in August?

I await the pleasure of reading a word from you.

Most sincerely,
P. LUMUMBA

REPORT OF LULUABOURG MEETING

SEPTEMBER 6, 1959

After a long campaign tour in the district of Kabinda, Mr. Patrice Lumumba, the president-general of the MNC, returned to Luluabourg on Friday, September 4. On Sunday, September 6, he held a public meeting attended by a crowd estimated to have numbered more than six thousand people. Several presidents of MNC chapters in the interior as well as a number of members of the Council of the Province of Kasai were present.

The leader of the MNC briefly outlined the present political situation in the Congo, which is worsening. The Belgian administration wants to force the Congolese to be only what it wants them to be and not what they want to be. This is why it has rejected all the resolutions passed at the Congress of Luluabourg and also rejects all the proposals put forward by the Congolese political parties. We are faced with a policy imposed by force, and no collaboration is possible in such an atmosphere. The Congo is no longer a silent empire. Our existence and our opinions will have to be taken into account. We have never refused to collaborate with the administration, but it has always refused the hand we have held out to it; it is sympathetic only to hypocrites and flatterers who constantly mislead it for the sole purpose of protecting their own per-

sonal interests. We feel no hostility toward Europeans. In their own interests, the latter should come over to our side so as to fight the colonialist regime that is no longer compatible with the future development of the country. All efforts to colonize any country must come to an end. Several powers, among them France and England in particular, have already freed their former colonies. Belgium must do likewise. If she agrees to put an immediate end to the colonial regime, she will deserve no less than our sincerest friendship. We will respect all the agreements she has made in the name of the Congo, and all foreign investments will be guaranteed. No European will have his property seized; the Congolese are not brigands. We believe in order, in respect for the individual person and for the property of others. Once we have attained our independence, all the barriers between Belgium and the Congo will be done away with. People will be allowed to travel freely between them. Belgians will feel at home in the Congo and Congolese will feel at home in Belgium. We believe in friendship between peoples. If a break should occur between Belgium and the Congo, it would be the fault neither of the Congolese nor of Belgium. The only ones responsible would be those few groups seeking to exploit the riches of the Congo for their own profit alone, to the detriment of the collective good; these groups are bringing serious pressure to bear on the government to continue its colonial rule. It would also be the fault of certain functionaries pursuing only their own interests in this country. These few functionaries are nostalgic for the days of yore and cannot even conceive of the possibility of the Congolese running the country in their place. These holdovers from another era are living out a serious psychological drama. They forget, however, that progress never takes a step backward and that enlightened world opinion now condemns colonial crusades and any sort of policy allowing one human being to dominate and exploit another.

Mr. Lumumba reported that during his lecture tour in Belgium, numerous young Belgians promised him they would offer their serv-

ices to the Congolese government as soon as it was formed, and that they would even accept lower salaries than those paid civil servants at present; these young Belgians are motivated by an ideal: aiding and serving the young Congolese nation.

The Congo is not the property of the Belgians; it is a country like any other. The notion that Leopold II bequeathed the Congo to Belgium is false, for even from the legal point of view a material object can be willed to others, but one people cannot be bequeathed to another. On the one hand, we are told that Belgium delivered us from slavery, and on the other hand we are told that the Congo, with all its inhabitants and resources, was bequeathed to Belgium by virtue of the fact that it was a conquered country. Belgium must therefore admit that it has plunged us into a new, camouflaged form of slavery. The Congo is also said to have been annexed to Belgium. This annexation was unilateral. If Belgium claims to have "bought" the Congo, we would like to know how much it cost. We will take up a collection to pay this debt back so we can be free.

In our eyes the Congo is a free country; people have simply taken advantage of our ignorance to exploit us.

Mr. Lumumba announced in the meeting that all the tribal chiefs he has contacted are in favor of the immediate liberation of the Congo. He also stated that more than 80 percent of the population of Kasai is for the MNC and that these people are merely waiting for word to be passed for them to act.

Mr. Lumumba also declared that the MNC is a movement to bring the people together and a movement of national liberation. Though his doctrine is definitely revolutionary, it is based on non-violence.

The leader of the MNC announced that a vast plan of positive action has been embarked upon in order to secure the immediate liberation of the Congo. He called on all Congolese to unite in order to ensure that this goal will be attained. In response to this appeal, a number of regional parties active in Kasai merged with the MNC.

Everybody in Luluabourg planned to meet at the rally led by the president of the MNC, and one and all vigorously applauded Mr. Lumumba, shouting "Long live Lumumba, long live Kalonji, we are behind you, even in times of great suffering!"

At the end of the meeting, Mr. Lumumba proposed that the assembly adopt a resolution. It was passed amid the frenzied acclamations of the crowd and was countersigned by the members of the Provincial Committee of the MNC, the presidents of the MNC chapters in the interior who had come to Luluabourg, and by a number of members of the Provincial Council, among them District Chief Penc Sengha of the territory of Katako-Kombe.

TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION

The General Assembly of the Congolese National Movement, held in Luluabourg on Sunday, September 6, 1959, and presided over by Mr. Patrice Lumumba, the national president of the MNC, passed the following resolutions:

— Whereas by its declaration of January 13, 1959, Belgium recognized the right of the Congolese people to attain their independence and rule themselves as they see fit;

— Whereas the peoples of the Congo welcomed this declaration with enthusiasm but have been demanding for more than seven months that the Belgian government determine what steps are necessary in order for the Congo to achieve this independence;

— Whereas in the face of the equivocal attitude of the Belgian authorities, the Congolese political parties, after serious and thoughtful study, have presented several resolutions to the Belgian Chambers and the latter have not paid the slightest heed to them;

— Whereas the minister of the Congo has just offered to resign his post, since the Belgian government has rejected his proposal aimed at setting a precise timetable for the constitution of national assemblies and the formation of a Congolese government in 1960;

— Whereas this deliberate refusal of the Belgian government runs

counter to the aspirations of the Congolese people, and this attitude is ample proof that the vague promise of independence contained in the government's declaration of January 13 is only a propaganda tool;

— Whereas the independence of the Congo was recognized by the international powers in 1885 and is celebrated each year on the first of July;

— Whereas the Congo is not a Belgian colony but an independent state having its own flag, and was arbitrarily deprived of the enjoyment of its sovereignty after the death of King Leopold II in 1908;

— Whereas the Congo, as an independent state, could not be annexed to another state by virtue of a unilateral decision;

— Whereas the elections that the administration is planning to organize in the Congo at the end of the year are aimed only at prolonging the colonialist regime, a regime that the people of this country no longer wish to tolerate;

In conformity with the desires repeatedly expressed by all sectors of the population of the Congo, the assembly demands that governmental powers be handed over to the Congolese. It adjures the Belgian Parliament to respect the political aspirations of the people and the agreement concluded by Belgium with the international powers.

The present resolution has been passed in conformity with the stipulations of article 73 of the United Nations Charter, of which Belgium is a signatory.

The assembly further votes not to participate in the antidemocratic elections to be organized at the end of the year so long as no decision is forthcoming with regard to the formation of the Congolese government.

Lumumba was a tireless orator who captivated his audiences, but he was also aware of the power of the written word and the pre-eminent role of the press. Marked by the stamp of black African

literature, this one poem of his was published in his party's newspaper, *Indépendance*, in September 1959.

WEEP, O BELOVED BLACK BROTHER

O Black, a human beast of the fields for centuries,
 Your ashes are scattered to all the winds of heaven
 And you once built funeral temples
 Where the executioners sleep in eternal slumber.
 Persecuted and hunted down, driven from your villages,
 Conquered in battles where the law of the most powerful
 In those barbarous centuries of rape and carnage
 Meant slavery or death for you,
 You took refuge in those deep forests
 Where the other death lay in wait beneath its feverish
 mask,
 Beneath the fang of the great cat, or in the foul and cold
 Embrace of the serpent, slowly crushing you.
 And then the White came, more cunning, more crafty,
 more rapacious,
 Giving you trinkets in exchange for your gold,
 Raping your women, besotting your warriors with drink,
 Driving your sons and daughters aboard his boats.
 The tom-tom throbbed from village to village
 Bearing your grief afar, sowing confusion,
 Telling of the great departure for distant shores
 Where cotton is God and the dollar King,
 Condemning you to forced labor, like a beast of burden,
 From dawn to dusk beneath a fiery sun.
 To make you forget that you were a man
 They taught you to sing God's praises
 And all these hymns, setting your calvary to rhythm,
 Made you hope for a better world. . . .
 But in your heart as a human being, all you asked for
 Was your right to live and your share of happiness.
 Sitting around the fire, your eyes full of dreams and
 anguish,
 Singing songs that told of your heavy heart,
 Joyous at times, too, when the sap mounted

You danced wildly in the damp of evening.
 And that is when jazz was born
 As magnificent, sensual, and manly as a voice of brass
 A powerful music poured forth from your pain
 A music admired today throughout the world,
 Forcing the white man to be respectful,
 Telling him in a loud voice that henceforth
 This country is no longer his, as in the old days.
 You thus allowed the brothers of your race
 To lift their heads and look upon
 The happy future that promises deliverance.
 The shores of the great river, full of promises,
 Henceforth belong to you.
 This earth and all its riches
 Henceforth belong to you.
 And the fiery sun, high in a colorless sky,
 Will burn away your pain
 Its searing rays will forever dry
 The tears your forefathers shed
 Tormented by their tyrannical masters
 On this soil that you still cherish.
 And you will make the Congo a free and happy nation,
 In the heart of this giant Black Africa.

On October 9, Lumumba spoke to the Executive Committee of the Pan-African Conference at Accra.

The situation in the Congo as regards the struggle of the people for their independence is improving day by day. The administration's attempts to destroy the popular movement for emancipation that is taking shape in all parts of the country are meeting total failure more and more frequently.

Belgium has always practiced a paternalist policy in the Congo, using the schools, the radio, and powerful propaganda in the press to dull the people's consciousness. Even today, the official radio network broadcasts nothing but dance music, religious hymns, and the propaganda of the colonial administration from morning to

night. Nothing whatsoever is done by way of educating the masses.

While other territories advanced politically, the Congo stagnated because of the do-nothing policy of the Belgian administration.

Thanks to the dynamic and courageous action of a few nationalist leaders, the Congolese people have suddenly awakened from their torpor. Everywhere in the country, even in the remotest villages in the bush, the populace is crying "Independence." And our people want to attain this independence immediately.

The Congolese National Movement, a movement bringing the people together and a movement of national liberation, is enjoying increasing success as time goes by. The administration engages in maneuvers to subvert our movement, and cruelly persecutes our militants, a number of whom are in prison today—but all these maneuvers serve only to strengthen the nationalism of the Congolese.

Confronted with the people's drive to smash the chains of colonialism at any price, Belgium was obliged to recognize publicly our right to independence.

By recognizing, in a solemn declaration on January 13, 1959, the right of the Congolese people to eventual independence, Belgium at the same time recognized the right of this people to draw up its own constitution and form its own government on the basis of entirely free elections. These are the only conditions that will permit the Congo to attain real independence rapidly.

We want world opinion to know, moreover, that the independence of the Congo was recognized by the international powers in 1885, and that this independence is celebrated on the first of July each year in the Congo. The Congo today still has its own flag, which was also recognized by the international powers.

All we are asking for is the transfer of power into the hands of nationals, in accordance with the principle of the right of peoples to govern themselves as they see fit.

The plans that are currently being drawn up by the Administration are aimed at the establishment of a Belgian-Congolese com-

munity. These plans provide that 60 percent of the members of the future provincial assemblies will be elected and 40 percent appointed. The Belgian government thus wants to set up a puppet government that it can control completely.

For this reason our movement, supported by its members and sympathizers, has decided not to participate in the antidemocratic elections that are to take place at the end of the year, since our only concern is to see the Congo join the ranks of free peoples without delay.

It is surprising to note that after having decided that it will allow us to attain our independence, Belgium is seeking to thrust upon us an electoral system and semidemocratic reforms that are in no way in keeping with the feelings of the Congolese people.

May not the conclusion be drawn that its declaration of January thirteenth was only a propaganda tool aimed at deceiving international opinion?

Being conscious of the dangers threatening our country as a result of the administration's equivocal attitude, we will hold an important congress at the end of this month of October, in the course of which our movement will make important decisions.

A second congress, which will bring together all the nationalist parties favoring immediate independence, will also be held, two days after that of the MNC. We are going to join together so as to pool our efforts to secure the liberation of the Congo.

We are in favor of a genuine collaboration with Belgium with regard to commercial and cultural exchanges between our two independent countries. But Belgium must realize that this collaboration will not be possible as long as the relation between us is one of subjugation, as is still the case today.

We know that the cause we are defending will triumph in any event. Progress never takes a step backward. The African continent must be as free and independent as the other continents.

Our objectives remain:

—The immediate independence of the Congo;

- The constitution of the United States of Africa;
- Economic cooperation with any friendly country.

We address a solemn appeal to all free countries and to the enemies of slavery to support the cause of the Congolese people.

LONG LIVE AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE AND UNITY!
DOWN WITH COLONIALISM!

On October 14, 1959, despite the threat of a boycott, the Belgian government decided to go ahead with the election of members of the communal and territorial councils in December. On October 16 the minister of the Congo announced a timetable for the formation of a Congolese government and national assemblies by 1960.

The MNC held its national congress in Stanleyville, the capital of Orientale Province, October 23-28. On October 29 another congress opened, with the participation of other movements: the Céréa (Center of African Regroupment), the Parti du Peuple (People's Party), the MNC, the Union de la Jeunesse (Young People's Union), and the UNAR (the nationalist party of Rwanda). All of them decided not to participate in the elections.

On October 30, the administration unleashed a campaign of police repression against the nationalists, which resulted in thirty people dead and approximately a hundred injured. On November 1, Lumumba was arrested by order of the governor. These events caused the MNC to change its mind and decide to participate in the December elections, in which it won 90 percent of the votes in Stanleyville.

Lumumba explained the situation in the text below.

THE EVENTS IN STANLEYVILLE

October 31, 1959

I formally deny the false news reports broadcast by Radio Congo Belge on Saturday, October 31, 1959, announcing that I had fled following the events that took place Friday in Stanleyville.

The official communiqué published by the administration adds, moreover, that the riots occurred as the result of a meeting held by the MNC.

Being the product of the needs of colonialist propaganda, these news reports serve merely to mislead public and international opinion with regard to the incidents in Stanleyville, for which the colonial administration bears the entire responsibility, since it planned them beforehand down to the last detail.

The incidents did not take place because of a meeting held by the MNC. They took place, rather, between the police and the people as we were holding a session of a Special Congress of the Congolese Political Parties behind closed doors in a private meeting place.

These incidents, as a matter of fact, took place an hour *before* the opening of the plenary session that we always hold each evening for the public.

Because the police began to fire on the crowd attending the opening of the meeting, I went down into the audience, along with all the delegates to the congress and the representative of Agence France-Press, to try to get them to stop shooting. The moment they saw us moving toward them amid the acclamations of the crowd, the European police began to shoot at us.

We fell back then, so as to make our way back to the place where the meeting of the congress was being held.

The police kept throwing tear gas grenades at the house we were in for more than an hour.

Since all routes leading to the house where I was staying were literally cut off by huge barricades of armed soldiers, it was impossible for me to return there and I was forced to spend the night at the home of a friend.

The crowd kept applauding me all along the road, in full view of the police. Seeing the people's reaction, they did not dare arrest me.

I have no reason to flee, for I have committed no criminal act, and it would, furthermore, be an act of cowardice on my part to

capitulate in the face of the brutal repression unjustly unleashed by the administration *for the single and sole purpose of intimidating and repressing the populace*, which is determined to win its immediate independence through peaceful means.

As a freedom fighter, I prefer to die on my feet as a patriot for the just cause that our movement is defending.

The despicable slander of the local administration has no basis in fact; we have never incited the populace to commit reprehensible acts, for our doctrine is based on nonviolence.

On the contrary, we have always pleaded with people to keep calm, and have done so at the end of each session, as the reports published in the press will testify.

The only watchword we give our militants — and we have the right to do so in connection with our political activities — is to mobilize in a spirit of solidarity in order to ensure the triumphal fulfillment of the unanimous aspiration of the Congolese people, namely, IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

Since it cannot help but see that all classes of the populace are rallying to the view that we are defending, and since it must face the fact that it will meet with certain failure in December if it organizes elections that we are abstaining from in the name of the people, the administration is hatching plots aimed at

- (1) covering up the defects of its bad policy;
- (2) imprisoning any Congolese nationalist who does not blindly adhere to its disastrous policy, under the falsest sort of pretexts, such as endangering the security of the state, inciting people to racial hatred or violence, and so on;
- (3) halting the ever increasing success that the MNC is enjoying among the oppressed population;
- (4) bringing violent pressure to bear on the populace in order to force it to vote *against its will*.

The same tactic that was used at the time of the riots in Leopoldville is now being employed by the administration in Stanleyville, namely, plotting incidents carefully beforehand, provoking a pop-

ulace that is living peaceably in its own country, and taking advantage of its reaction in order to proceed to murder people and then hold others responsible for these massacres.

This classic stratagem does not even remotely solve the Congolese problem.

It is truly criminal for a power that claims to be a people's GUARDIAN to continue to plunge that unhappy people into mourning, when it is asking only to enjoy FREEDOM and administer its patrimony.

I indignantly protest these inhuman measures.

Belgium must MAKE AMENDS for the grave wrongs and flagrant injustices that she has committed in this country by immediately proclaiming the independence of the Congo.

On the same day, Lumumba sent a letter to the royal prosecutor concerning the summons served him.

Stanleyville, October 31, 1959

Your Excellency:

Re: your summons dated 10/30/59.

The summons dated October 30 that you issued ordering me to appear before you at 11 A.M. did not reach me until 4:30, having been handed to me at that time by Mr. Henri Tshimbalanga.

I was not in when the commissioner appeared at the house where I am staying.

The latter gave the summons to Mr. Tshimbalanga at 3:15, charging him with the task of delivering it to me.

Thus the summons was not delivered to me until 4:30.

Since the administration offices and the Office of Public Prosecution close at 4:30, it was not possible for me to appear in your office.

I immediately wrote you a letter giving you a full explanation. You did not receive this letter.

In view of the present confusion and the slander to which I have been subjected, I will be appearing against my will.

I am awaiting a writ in order that I may know the exact charges being brought against me.

Being perfectly aware of all the facts of the matter, I will be able to answer these charges, but I shall do so only in the presence of my attorney.

I hope that my point of view is consonant with the guarantees the law offers defendants.

In no way do I refuse to answer your summons to appear.

I am at your entire disposal.

Yours most respectfully,

P. LUMUMBA

National President of the MNC

On November 3 the minister of the Congo announced that a colloquium would be held with the parties in Leopoldville. A congress was held at Coquilhatville from November 11 to November 14 in order to set up the National Progress Party (PNP — Parti National du Progrès), and it was immediately obvious that it was a tool in the hands of the colonial administration, being used to hold the wave of nationalism in check. On November 20 the king called for "unanimous solutions," and on the twenty-second the Abako-African Solidarity Party-Kalonji-MNC coalition made public a memorandum on the future structures of the Congo.

On November 26 the minister announced that a vast "Round Table" would be held in January 1960, and on December 15 he outlined the program for it. On the twenty-seventh the federalist parties organized their congress at Kisantu. But Lumumba was in the Stanleyville prison, carrying on his activities from his cell.

LETTER TO JEAN VAN LIERDE

Stanleyville, December 24, 1959

My dear Jean,

One cannot forget one's friends in times of misfortune, any more than in times of good fortune. I am writing to tell you that despite the trying experience I am going through at the moment — though I have lost my courage — I often think of you and the many talks we had during my last stay in Brussels.

I remember particularly our conversations in Liège and on the rue Belliard — conversations in the course of which the participants felt a wave of human warmth rising between persons motivated by one and the same ideal: human understanding and intimacy.*

I still remember them, and the memory comforts me.

Did you receive the letter I wrote you from Accra just before my return to the Congo last October?

I will go on trial on January 18 before the District Tribunal in Stanleyville. Meanwhile I am having a breathing spell behind bars in the Stanleyville prison. I have been under preventive detention since November 1, and will be detained until the opening of the trial. I am still calm and collected and still have faith in the future of our country. There is nothing that weighs on my conscience. The storm will pass and then there will be good weather again.

As I explained to you in Brussels, my goal is still nonviolence.

I beg you to send me twenty (20) new books, the most interesting ones in the bookstores, in care of my brother, whose address is: Louis Lumumba, c/o Attorney Rom, Post Office Box 29, Stanleyville. Send me the bill, and a copy to the Provincial Board of Directors of the MNC, Post Office Box 355, Stanleyville, so that it can be paid. Please send the package by registered airmail.†

* Lumumba is speaking here of the Centre de Présence Africaine, where all of the debates with black leaders were held.

† Lumumba had a great thirst for culture, and every time he visited Livre

I hope that you are well and that I will have the pleasure of seeing you again. We will embrace each other and talk together on the rue Belliard with the same high spirits as the last time.

Please give my cordial regards to our mutual friends.

With friendliest regards,
PATRICE

At the time of the incidents in Stanleyville, on November 3, the governor of Orientale Province, Mr. Leroy, made a long speech that was printed in the newspapers and broadcast over the radio in its entirety. His declaration held Patrice Lumumba, who had been arrested and sent to the Stanleyville prison, entirely responsible for these incidents.

From that prison cell the following message was sent out; Patrice Lumumba denies the governor's allegations.

The facts that Lumumba brings to bear in his refutation of the governor's speech were to hasten his being set free.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE STANLEYVILLE INCIDENTS

December 27, 1959

Fourth paragraph. The governor declares:

The congress that opened on Friday, October 23, proceeded in a more or less normal way until Wednesday night. [Note: Wednesday night was October 28, the date of the closing session of the congress.]

... And the public authorities, despite growing tension, and despite certain provocations and threats of disorder, allowed the congress to pursue its deliberations.

Refutation:

1. The governor admits in this declaration that from Friday, October 23, the date the congress opened, to Wednesday, October

Africain, the bookstore of the Amis de Présence Africaine, he ordered dozens of books for himself, the cadres of his party, and its provincial chapters.

28, the date the congress ended, it proceeded in a normal way. As a matter of fact, the congress came to an end without the slightest incident, since we ourselves had organized the policing of it. At the end of each session, we urged the members to maintain an exemplary discipline and to be particularly careful to maintain order. This is proved by the fact that the incidents — for which the administration alone is responsible — did not occur until Friday evening, October 30, that is to say, two days after the closing session of our congress.

2. If, as the governor of the province asserts, the congress had been the source of the provocations and threats of disorder, the public authorities would certainly not have allowed it to pursue its deliberations without intervening to restore order. And furthermore, if they noticed that there was "growing tension," I do not believe that the public authorities would have allowed such tension to increase without contacting those responsible for the congress.

The public authorities either did not perform their duty, which is to preserve public order, or else they noticed nothing abnormal between the time the congress opened and the time it ended. The latter supposition is the only valid one, because it is the only one that corresponds to the truth: the public authorities noticed nothing abnormal, and therefore they allowed the congress to pursue its work to the very end.

The truth — as we promptly pointed out to the governor — is that the police deliberately created and fostered a certain tension among the populace, at the very moment that we were holding our congress. Two of our delegates, Mr. Kanyinda, the representative of the Elisabethville MNC, and Mr. Kashamura, the president-general of the Center of African Regroupment of Bukavu, were manhandled by the police, the former being beaten with a truncheon and thrown in the mud and the latter being threatened with a revolver by a European police inspector. They had done absolutely nothing to justify such mistreatment.

In view of these acts of provocation, we immediately sent a telegram protesting them to the governor of the province, specifically

stating in this telegram that his police officers were provoking the populace and sowing panic so as to then proceed to repress the Congolese if they showed the slightest signs of reacting. We were well aware that the administration was attempting in this way to lay the groundwork for future repression.

Our representations to the governor received no answer and we did not understand the reasons for his silence after we had warned him. Was it a coup that had already been planned, the staging of which was just beginning? In any event, the governor's silence was significant.

Three or four days after our telegram, to everyone's stupefaction, there was an outbreak of unfortunate incidents, cleverly planned beforehand by certain administration officials.

It is plain to see that the governor of the province personally shares partial responsibility for these incidents: instead of answering our appeal and immediately remedying the situation, he allowed his agents to continue to promote and lay the groundwork for a barbarous repression of the people.

Result: Some thirty Congolese literally massacred by a hail of bullets. These people were killed only by European police officers and constables. No black soldier fired on Congolese.

Fifth paragraph. The governor states:

Let us state in passing that the sentence relative to the participation of numerous tribal chieftains is an enormous exaggeration of the facts. Twenty-two chieftains of Orientale Province delegated by their peers had come to Stanleyville to decide which of them would be members of the commission supervising the elections.

The MNC's attempt to coopt them was ingenious but perhaps not altogether aboveboard, and the chieftains reacted vigorously, sending a message of protest to Brussels.

Refutation:

Several tribal chieftains from various regions in the province who were members of the MNC, and others from the provinces of Kasai and Kivu, did in fact participate in the proceedings of the congress.

A number of chieftains attended despite the opposition of the administrators of their regions, followed by threats of reprisals.

The twenty-two chieftains whom the governor mentions in his speech and whom he brought to Stanleyville have absolutely nothing to do with the chieftains who attended our congress. The European journalists who attended our congress got a good look at these chieftains, certain of whom were wearing medals and official insignia: the press has a list of their names.

The governor declares that his "guests," the twenty-two chieftains, sent a message of protest to Brussels. This message was suggested and drawn up by the Office of the Governor of the Province, for the sole purpose of sowing discord and leading the minister and public opinion in Belgium to believe that no chieftains attended the MNC congress.

There is no one in Stanleyville who is not aware that the majority of the chieftains are affiliated with the MNC; the administration has vainly attempted to lure them away, but the chieftains, like their subjects, regard the MNC as the movement best representing their views and best protecting their interests.

The proof of this is the overwhelming victory that the MNC has just won at the polls, despite the obstructive tactics of the administration.

Reading the speech of the governor of Orientale Province, one wonders if the authorities in Stanleyville have any respect for the truth.

Eighth paragraph. The governor states:

Giving in to the wishes of the congress meant postponing the elections, delaying the setting up of new institutions, and thus putting off independence until a later date.

Refutation:

The governor's interpretation is erroneous. By demanding that negotiations be begun before the elections, the congress wanted, on the contrary, to hasten the process whereby we would attain our

independence. In other words, the congress based its action on the ministerial message of October 16, 1959, in which Minister de Schryver specifically stated that "Belgium does not intend to impose predetermined formulas on the Congo." In plain language, the minister's message was subject to discussion, particularly with regard to the reforms it recommended.

Since the reforms and the electoral system recommended by the minister have not met with the approval of the populace, the congress believed it necessary to demand that negotiations be begun before the elections were held: this was the only possible way out of the impasse. A free and forthright dialogue between the minister and the leaders of the political parties would undoubtedly clarify points that were ambiguous and reconcile the two sides. It was in this spirit that our telegram to the minister contained this sentence, among others: "The higher interests of the Congo and of Belgium militate in favor of these negotiations."

As a matter of fact, it is to the interest of both our countries — the Congo and Belgium — to seek constructive solutions to our common problems together. This implies that the Belgian leaders must rid themselves of their tendency to impose their will at all times. This is the source of the whole problem, the cause of the dissatisfaction of the Congolese and the political unrest.

At no time have we envisaged a solution of the Congolese problem or an effort to attain the independence of the Congo that would bypass peaceful and friendly negotiations with Belgium.

Ninth, tenth, and eleventh paragraphs. The governor states:

Confronted with the position taken by the minister, Mr. Lumumba abandoned the restraint that he had more or less imposed upon himself. And on Wednesday the twenty-eighth, in the daily meeting he held, he incited his audience by making statements such as the following:

"The National Congress of the MNC has decided to break with Belgium as of today. We will march against Belgium. A decree has just been made public in which it is stated that those who sabotage the elections will be put in prison. We have not wanted to resort

to violence, but in the name of your brother who is oppressed and is suffering, don't vote. All those who want immediate independence will refuse to go to the polls, because this would be suicide.

"Until the Congo has attained its independence, there is one watchword today: no collaboration; civil disobedience; a struggle in the name of the people; no elections. Everyone must boycott the elections. Those of you who are here: don't go to the polls at the end of the year. If you do, you are against independence."

And finally, a threat directed against the Congolese: "If there is anybody who does not have a membership card in the MNC, it's because he doesn't want independence." A phrase with many threatening undertones.

Notes:

The governor is pursuing only one aim here: justifying in the public's mind the brutally repressive steps that his administration has believed it necessary to take against the black populace; the governor, the person chiefly responsible for this fierce repression, also wants to exonerate himself by attempting to make me the scapegoat.

As a stubborn advocate of democracy, I have never rejected elections; what I was rebelling against was antidemocratic elections whereby 40 percent of the members would be appointed — the colonial administration would attempt to control 40 percent of the seats through arbitrary appointments. With an electoral system such as this the Congo could not have democratic and genuinely representative assemblies, and thus the independence that Belgium had promised us would be absolutely meaningless.

Or Belgium may be sincerely in favor of the independence of the Congo — and we believe that her proclamation of January 13 was made in good faith — in which case Belgium ought to be consistent and not force any sort of electoral system or form of government on us. It was up to the Congolese — and still is up to them — to make plans for their own constitution; it is likewise up to the Congolese people to form their own government and their own assemblies through elections that are completely free.

On the one hand Belgium promised us independence and hence the democratization of the Congo, and on the other hand the minister of the Congo offered us a simulacrum of democracy, and therefore the disguised perpetuation of our colonial status. These two things were incompatible, and we wanted the lines to be drawn in broad daylight.

I have never said that I want to march against Belgium or that we will march against Belgium, since I am well aware that the overwhelming majority of the Belgian populace is against the oppression of blacks; I have observed this each time that I have visited Belgium. The Belgian people in the mother country are not at all in favor of the colonial status to which the Congo is subjected today, a regime of enslavement whereby an entire populace of fourteen million is subjected to the dictatorial rule of a tiny economic oligarchy. I know from personal experience that the Belgian people in the mother country do not have imperialist designs on us, and that if it were up to them, we Congolese would not be suffering all the misfortunes that we are experiencing today.

Our torturers are in the Congo, along with a handful of men pulling the strings in Belgium — men whose only concern is the dividends they reap from big colonial and capitalist companies. It is a minority of coupon-clippers who are responsible for our *vic crucis*.

I know that after the Congo wins its independence, we will call upon many Belgians in the mother country to come help us in the Congo, just as many young Congolese will gain special experience and receive training in Belgium.

As partisans of the friendship between peoples, tomorrow we will prove — once our government is set up — that we are not racists or antiwhite. Racists, either white or black, are simply idiots: it is human value that counts, and all the rest is sheer mystification.

In these modern times, an independent Congo cannot live in isolation: it must take its place among the free nations, within the

framework of sincere economic and scientific cooperation. But the Congo must enjoy the prerogatives of sovereignty without inordinate delay.

Our aim is to conclude a treaty of alliance with Belgium after the proclamation of our independence, but this must be done on an equal footing and in complete freedom: our two independent nations — the Congo and Belgium — will be united under the sign of friendship and fraternal collaboration.

These are our intentions with regard to Belgium. But the colonial officials, who today no longer enjoy the confidence of the people because they have always conducted themselves in the Congo as they would in a conquered country, have always craftily attempted to pull the wool over the eyes of the people in the mother country: they make us out to be the enemies of Belgium, whereas in actual fact we are not. We are not against the Belgians; we are only against the machinations of the colonial officials. These colonial and dictatorial officials are the ones who are souring the friendship between Belgium and the Congo; they are the ones who embitter Africans; they are the ones who murder people; they are the ones who scoff at the dignity of the black man; they are the ones who demoralize the Congolese; they are the ones who disturb people's peace of mind and disturb the peace of society; they are the ones who deprive the work of Belgium of its humanitarian quality; they are the ones who give blacks the idea that Belgium is a colonialist nation.

This truth is camouflaged: it is camouflaged by certain relations the colonial administration enters into; it is mocked by a chain of newspapers published in the Congo whose watchword is to defend those who provide their funds, to conceal the truth, to mislead public opinion in the mother country, to sing the praises of the colonial administration so as not to betray it, to slyly fight against black nationalists who condemn the injustices of whites and call for the enjoyment of human freedoms by their brothers, to label them agitators, extremists, anti-Belgian communists, agents of Moscow, men

taking orders from Accra, Guinea, and so on. This is a cleverly staged drama, a well-orchestrated propaganda campaign carried on both by the colonial press and by colonial radio stations.

The few Congolese who allow themselves to be corrupted by the whites and always lie to them in order to win their sympathies and assure themselves a few petty favors, those who earn money by indulging in antinational propaganda, who blindly sign declarations drawn up before the fact, are hailed by the administration and the press as "the only friends of Belgium," the "real spokesmen," "the only intelligent people," the "moderates." But these same moderates, these puppets, once they find themselves among Congolese, say the exact opposite of what they say to the whites. They are two-faced people! And the administration and the colonialists prefer to make their deals with these hypocrites.

In Stanleyville in particular, all these hypocrites whom the administration has always hailed as legitimate representatives of the populace have been gotten rid of with one sweep of the broom in the recent elections. For years they were appointed members of the Provincial Council and the Council of Government because they could be counted on to side with the administration, but the elections — which "eliminated" these former government councilors — prove that these men did not represent the populace at all and never had its confidence.

Belgian opinion in the mother country knows nothing about these truths: they will, however, triumph sooner or later.

Twelfth paragraph. The governor goes on:

I thought at first that Mr. Lumumba, having been disappointed by the minister's reply, had lost his composure. But I have since learned that he was trained in revolutionary techniques abroad. I am personally convinced that all these outrages were planned in advance and that Mr. Lumumba deliberately incited the riot in order to dig a bloody trench between blacks and whites.

Refutation:

This is a gratuitous accusation, mingled with malicious falsehoods.

The governor would be incapable of furnishing the slightest proof that I have been trained in revolutionary techniques abroad.

In the present colonial period, if a black from the Congo so much as takes a trip to Europe or another African country, he is automatically accused of all sorts of unimaginable sins. If he is not accused of going there to get training in revolutionary techniques — as the governor declares in his speech — people are sure to say that he went there to sell the Congo out to the Russians, or to the Americans.

Since I was able — despite the numerous obstacles that were put in my way by the administration — to leave the Congo to attend international or Pan-African meetings devoted to the problems of Africa or the Congo, I am regarded by the colonial administration and the colonial officials as a black sheep. Out of pure prejudice. . . .

But when these same officials, these same Europeans send certain Congolese to Rome, to Germany, to America, to Belgium, or to various African countries, they do not make accusations against them; they do not criticize them because these Congolese have received their "blessing."

When members of Parliament or Belgian politicians go to America, Russia, France, Egypt, Arabia, China, Poland, is it to get their marching orders or training in revolutionary techniques?

Is it committing a sin to leave the Congo, to go away to learn, to improve oneself, to educate oneself and establish contact with other groups of human beings? Are the whites of the Congo who often travel outside the country criticized?

An attempt is being made to turn the Congo into a native reservation, which the blacks can leave on their own initiative only at the risk of seeing themselves called despicable spies in the service of foreign powers. In this regard the governor's speech is nothing but a disguised form of propaganda to discourage Congolese who want to travel outside the Congo.

The governor would also be unable to justify his "conviction"

that I deliberately and willfully incited the populace to riot in order to dig a bloody trench between blacks and whites.

Am I the one who gave the European police officials orders to proceed to massacre blacks? Was it not the administration which, being unable to find any way of arresting me and subverting my party, took advantage of the fact that we were holding a congress to unleash the forces of repression in order to get its hands on me? The Congolese have done nothing; the members of my party have engaged in no act of violence. I have never told the populace to rebel against the public authorities. Congolese are being killed, with the greatest cruelty, because they have joined the MNC, because they have cried INDEPENDENCE.

The governor believed that his reign was over, because instead of acclaiming him, the blacks of his province acclaimed me: "Long live Lumumba! Long live our minister!" His pride was hurt, and that is why he ordered the repression and my arrest.

This is the real truth of the matter, as everyone knows. This is the truth that the governor of Stanleyville is attempting to suppress with every force at his command.

If I had deliberately incited a riot, why would I have sent a telegram of protest to the governor of the province (a telegram that he refused to take any action on) when his police began brutally attacking Congolese?

If I had incited a riot, why did I leave the congress one day and take a person who had been shot at and seriously wounded by a European police officer to the royal prosecutor and ask him to open an inquiry?

If I had incited a riot, as the governor asserts — without producing the slightest proof, moreover — I would not have contacted the governor and the royal prosecutor and taken all these steps to secure their intervention.

There were no acts on my part and nothing in my behavior to substantiate that I am a rabble-rouser.

It is curious that a governor of a province, a public official, can

publicly make such completely unfounded accusations against me.

The only possible explanation of this irresponsible behavior is that the governor, finding it difficult to justify his acts and the reasons behind the Stanleyville massacre, believed it necessary to resort to a subterfuge: making me a scapegoat in order to justify the staging of the plot that had been so carefully planned.

On no occasion did I preach violence within the MNC. Quite the contrary: I have always condemned violence, brutality, and injustice; I cannot myself use what I condemn in others, namely violence.

I can only bitterly deplore the barbarous steps that the administration has taken against a peaceful, unarmed populace that asks only one thing of it: the enjoyment of FREEDOM.

There was nothing that could justify the use of arms against the populace; it was calm.

Thirteenth paragraph. The governor states:

Thursday evening the meeting was still more riotous. Many people in the audience were shouting their acclaim and waving lances and machetes, and there was talk of a march on the downtown area of the city the next day.

Refutation:

Thursday was October 29, 1959, the opening day of the Special Congress organized by the following five political parties: the Center of African Regroupment, with headquarters in Bukavu, the People's Party, with headquarters in Leopoldville, the Congo Federation, with headquarters in Elisabethville, the Rwandese National Union, with headquarters in Rwanda-Burundi, and the Congolese National Movement.

The MNC congress held its closing session on October 28, 1959 in absolute calm.

At the opening session of this Special Congress, six speeches were delivered: by Messrs. Weregere and Kashamura, both delegates of the Center of African Regroupment; Alibe, of the People's Party; Michel Rwagasana, secretary-general of the Rwandese National

Union; Emmanuel Nzuzi, the delegate of the Congo Young People's Union, and myself.

These various speeches were reports on the orientation of our political program.

At no time during this meeting was there talk of a "march on the downtown area of the city the next day," i.e., October 30. The governor has quite an imagination. What would we have done in town? What would we have been looking for? What would we have been trying to accomplish?

Contrary to the governor's slanderous statements, there was no march on the downtown area of the city the next day (October 30). Such a march was all a product of the governor's imagination.

On October 30, the Congolese were in the *cité*;^{*} we were holding a meeting in a private house when suddenly we heard gunfire; repression had begun, for no reason and with no explanation. A few moments later, the Mangobo District, where we were holding the congress, was placed under military occupation; dead bodies were strewn about all over. There had been no uprising to justify this military attack; it was the fruit of a plot hatched in advance.

Does the governor consider it a crime for an audience to shout its acclaim and manifest its enthusiasm during a meeting?

What the governor calls "riotous" behavior, referring to the meeting held by us on Thursday, October 29, was only a manifestation of joy, of exultation; the Congolese were rejoicing at having promised us their complete support in the pursuit of our objective: the immediate independence of the Congo.

The fact that the popular masses have rallied round the MNC displeased the governor and his administration; they were upset by it, because we condemn the colonial regime and its consequences.

The governor did not attend our meetings, and no official was present at the meeting on Thursday, October 29; so how can the

^{*} A French colonial term, referring to the so-called "native" quarter. (Translator's note.)

governor dogmatically assert that "there was talk of a march on the downtown area of the city"?

This is something he made up out of whole cloth.

Having no fear that a denial would be forthcoming, since he had reduced me to silence by throwing me in prison, the governor deliberately misled the public.

Thirteenth paragraph (continued). The governor goes on:

The propaganda of the MNC, as everyone in Stanleyville knows, is accompanied by the formation of groups to intimidate the Congolese and force them to pay for their membership card in the MNC. The number of members of the party who have been forced to join is now beyond reckoning.

Refutation:

This is a gratuitous assertion. Not one Congolese has thus far complained to the authorities that he has been the victim of any sort of intimidation on the part of members of the MNC. No one has ever been forced or pressured into joining the MNC.

If we are fighting for FREEDOM, it is in order that each Congolese citizen may enjoy personal freedom and his civil rights. This freedom implies that every man has the right to think, make choices, and act according to the dictates of his conscience and the law.

The truth of the matter is this: despite persecution by the administration and the campaign to obstruct our movement, the MNC has met, and is continuing to meet, with increasing success. In order to fight us, in order to halt the advancing tide in favor of the MNC, the administration is visibly supporting certain political parties, a number of which were its own idea; but all these parties are lamentable failures: the Congolese mistrust them.

The Congolese join the MNC voluntarily; both men and women pay for their membership cards voluntarily.

The entire populace voted for the MNC of its own free will, enabling it to win an overwhelming victory in the elections on December 20: the MNC won 90 percent of the seats in all of the Congolese communes in Stanleyville.

Government officials saw to it that the elections were honest; the people voted freely. The governor's insinuations are completely unfounded. There are the facts!

Fourteenth paragraph. The governor states:

The agitation caused by Lumumba and his four or five thousand usual "clients" plunged the hundred thousand residents of Stanleyville into a state of dangerous unrest.

Refutation:

I caused no agitation. I do not have four or five thousand "clients" in Stanleyville; but the entire populace backs the MNC: there is ample proof of this. It is the entire Congolese people who are demanding their independence, not just the residents of Stanleyville. The political atmosphere in Stanleyville is the same as that in all the population centers of the Congo: it is the result of an inescapable evolution.

Fifteen paragraph. The governor states:

This apprehension was soon felt by the inmates of the prison, in the very heart of the city, and late Friday afternoon five hundred inmates refused to go peaceably back to their cells, tore their metal beds apart, and arming themselves with the iron bars they had thus obtained, staged a revolt.

Note:

The prison is several kilometers away from the place where we were holding the congress. No delegate to the congress had any contact with the prisoners; none of us went to the prison. The cause of the inmates' revolt must be sought elsewhere. This is not the first time that the inmates of the Stanleyville prison have rebelled; there have been similar cases in the past.

It is the height of slander to attempt to place the blame for the inmates' revolt on me.

Sixteenth paragraph. The governor continues:

The people were all overexcited. It would have been criminal to allow Lumumba and his congress to go on with their campaign to

stir up the populace. The police were therefore given orders to occupy the building in which Patrice Lumumba was making inflammatory speeches to the populace every day. This building, by the way, was a communal hall.

Refutation:

The MNC congress and I did not conduct any sort of campaign to stir up the people. The governor, furthermore, contradicts himself, since in the fourth paragraph of his speech he states: "The congress that opened on Friday, October 23, proceeded in a more or less normal way until Wednesday night. . . . And the public authorities, despite growing tension and despite certain provocations and threats of disorder, allowed the congress to pursue its deliberations."

The MNC congress, which opened on October 23, ended on Wednesday, October 28, 1959: there were no incidents, and the administration did not criticize us in any way.

The MNC congress no longer had anything to do with the situation, since it had had its final session on October 28, 1959.

On October 29 another congress opened: the Special Congress organized by five nationalist political parties (the Céréa, the UNAR, the People's Party, the General Federation of the Congo, and the MNC).

On October 30, that is to say, two days after the closing session of the MNC congress, while the Special Congress was still meeting, the administration went into action, mounting a repressive attack on the populace for no legitimate reason whatsoever.

It is therefore absurd to assert, as the governor does, that "it would have been criminal to allow Lumumba and his congress to go on with their campaign to stir up the people."

It was not Lumumba's congress; it was not Lumumba who was holding the congress; it was, rather, the congress of the political parties, organized by the five nationalist parties already mentioned. And these five political parties collectively assumed responsibility for it.

But the governor, still pursuing his aim of arresting Lumumba, cleverly makes no mention of the Special Congress of the parties, and does not speak of the other political parties with which we were jointly holding this congress; he mentions only "Lumumba," as if Lumumba personified the five parties. He does not mention the six speeches delivered during this congress on the same evening, October 29; he refers only to Lumumba's speech.

Following the governor's example, the Public Prosecutor's Office is doing the same thing. There is a special way of administering justice in the colonies.

Black public opinion has demanded that a parliamentary commission of inquiry be sent to the Congo to determine who the responsible parties are; the Belgian government has completely disregarded this demand. And for good reason!

During their recent stay in Belgium, the leaders of the Abako-MNC-PSA coalition asked the ministers of the Congo to send a commission of inquiry. Similar petitions were presented to the king by various groups during his visit to the Congo to study the situation.

Is His Majesty, too, going to refuse to allow light to be shed on this affair and the massacre of some thirty Congolese?

Conclusion

I am neither directly nor indirectly responsible for the Stanleyville incidents. The entire populace of Stanleyville will substantiate my plea that I am innocent.

The administration does not look with favor on the growing success that the MNC is enjoying. It does not look with favor on this success because in its eyes the MNC is a revolutionary movement that exposes all the administration's errors to the broad light of day.

The administration fears that the MNC, thanks to this success, will be in power, or have a large share in power, once national in-

stitutions and a Congolese government are set up. That is why the administration is taking every possible step to decapitate the MNC before things reach this stage, by throwing its top leaders in jail.

Should the administration be allowed to use justice as a private weapon for wreaking vengeance on leaders who do not totally approve of its policy?

Is it a timely move for the administration to launch its recent wave of repression against nationalist leaders at the very moment that we are searching for solid bases for a genuine democracy? Is this any way to foster friendship between our two peoples? Will friendship be established between the Belgians and the Congolese by engaging in massacres, by threatening us with revolvers, machine guns, and cannons?

Is it humane for an administration that claims to be Christian and civilized to act in this way toward peoples whom it has undertaken to educate, protect, and emancipate?

Is it just for an administration to take unfair advantage of the strength of its armies and continually organize punitive expeditions against an unarmed and peaceable populace? A populace that for eighty years has offered the Belgians its hospitality?

Is it reasonable for the general interest of the nation to be trampled underfoot for reasons of false pride or for a few selfish private interests?

Is it acceptable that a few individuals pursuing their personal interests or attempting to safeguard a few little privileges that they misinterpret should continue to shatter the ties of friendship between the Congo and Belgium?

Is it conceivable that Belgium, which has assumed a grave moral responsibility with regard to the Congo on the international plane, should allow its colonial officials to do as they please, as they are doing today?

Is it not time to raise a hue and cry over these ignoble acts of *lèse-humanité*?

It is in friendship and without hatred that I am pursuing my objective, the triumph of freedom and justice in the Congo.

P. LUMUMBA

National President of the MNC

Incarcerated in the Stanleyville prison for having demanded the freedom of the Congo.

Part Two

January-June 1960

In 1960 a crucial year began for the Congo. The political unrest spread from the cities to the countryside. On January 3 King Baudouin returned to Brussels after his tour of the Congo. In Stanleyville he had been greeted by crowds shouting "Free Lumumba!"

On January 5, the Belgian government began drawing up the list of those who were to participate in the impending Round Table, and the first black delegates arrived in Brussels on the ninth. On the thirteenth the list was made public. There were 81 Congolese invited, 43 active delegates and 38 alternates. But the nationalist parties immediately protested against the arbitrary apportionment of seats. Lumumba followed events closely from his prison cell.

LETTER TO JEAN VAN LIERDE

Stanleyville, January 13, 1960

My dear Jean,

It was a real pleasure to receive your charming letter, for which I thank you kindly. I apologize for having let many days go by before answering you. I have been very busy recently preparing my detailed defense.

Attorney Jean Auburtin, of the Paris bar, who is to take over my defense, arrived in Stanleyville on the ninth of this month. Attorney Rolin was kept away by his parliamentary duties, and asked Attorney Marrès to replace him. He too has just arrived from Brussels. He was a lawyer in Stan at one time. Another lawyer in Stan, Attorney René Rom, is working with Attorneys Auburtin and Marrès, and the three of them will defend me jointly.

The trial is to open on Monday, January 18. I have done nothing to justify my being exiled. I have committed no crime, no misdeed, other than having demanded our independence. This independence is our sacred right, and Belgium does not dispute this. We have always endeavored to attain this independence by peaceful, nonviolent means. My attorneys will bring the truth to light for the world to see.

Despite these annoyances, which are always possible in the life of nationalist leaders — especially those who don't chant the catechism of colonialism — I have remained faithful to my vocation. If I have sacrificed everything (my job, my family, my leisure), it is to serve our country.

I received the bill for the books. I have asked my committee to send you a money order. Will you please add to the list the work by Chomé you told me had come out, and the biography of Gandhi.* If you have come across other books, you can send me a second bill.

If the package hasn't been sent off yet, you can keep the books and I'll have them brought to me by one of my men who are coming to participate in the Round Table Conference (if I haven't been freed myself).

I sent Mobutu† to your house to get the books, but he was unable to complete the errand I had asked him to do for me, since Attorney Auburtin, the person to whom he was to give the books, had already left for Stan.

Will you please write my secretary, Joseph M'Buyi, Post Office Box 8201, Leopoldville 1, so that he can send you complimentary copies of the newspaper regularly, and also back copies if there still are any.

The unfortunate bickering that you followed from afar was

* The book referred to is Chomé's *La passion de Simon Kimbangu*.

† This is the same Mobutu who staged a coup d'état in September 1960 as head of the army.

started by people whose names I need not mention. The maxim *divide ut regnes* has never been more true. In any case, it was only a flash in the pan, as you surely noticed when the election returns came in. This success is only the prelude to a final decisive victory.

In every organization there are defections and there always will be. In every political party there will always be fence straddlers, renegades, deviationists.* What happened in the MNC in the beginning was a weeding-out process, or rather a necessary choice, for it is not possible for two ideologies to coexist. I for my part am for unity, whereas the Kalonjis, the Ngalulas, and the Iléos are for *division*. Ever since it was founded, in October 1958, the MNC has opted for *unitarism*. At the joint congress held in April 1959 by the various political parties in Luluabourg, we stated once again that this was our position, and all the parties present adopted it. The entire doctrine of the MNC is based on the unity of the Congo. And if the dissidents have now opted for Kasavubu's federalism, it is *solely* out of opportunism. Having been rejected by all the MNC chapters because of their act of treason against the party, and falling apart more and more, they have now nestled under the wings of the Abako in order to cater to tribal feelings.

But we will talk about all these problems *viva voce* when we have a chance to get together again.

Yours in perfect friendship,

P. LUMUMBA

As the Round Table in Brussels was holding its first sessions, Patrice Lumumba appeared before the Stanleyville Tribunal. The sentence handed down by this tribunal is clearly based on evidence gathered from secret tape recordings made by the Sûreté.

The defendant was sentenced to six months in prison at the very moment that all the nationalist leaders attending the Round Table

* Lumumba is referring here to a party quarrel that followed the split within the MNC.

in Brussels were demanding that he be set free. We have included only a few significant extracts of this great trial of colonial justice.

Penal Roll no. 13 330

TEN/G

R. M. P. no. 42 130

THE TRIBUNAL OF STANLEYVILLE
SITTING AS A COURT OF FIRST INSTANCE
HEARING A CRIMINAL CHARGE
HAS RENDERED THE FOLLOWING JUDGMENT

Public Session of January 21, 1960

THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR VERSUS LUMUMBA, Patrice Hemery, son of Tolenga, still living, and Amatu, Julienne, still living, married to Opongu, Pauline; born in Onalua (territory of Katako-Kombe, district of Sankuru) on July 25, 1925; president of the MNC, editor-in-chief of the daily paper *Indépendance*; a resident of Leopoldville, Kalamu Commune, avenue Busumero, no. A. 12; immatriculated in Stanleyville September 16, 1954; immatriculation card no. 3, Vol. I, Folio 2 of Stanleyville; presently under preventive detention

IS CHARGED WITH:

I. Having, through speeches delivered in public meetings or places in Stanleyville in Mangobo Commune, on October 28, 1959, and in particular a speech in the communal hall, a public gathering place, before an audience of over one thousand, the complete text of which has been reproduced in the court record (items 11 to 19 and 21 to 33),

(a) incited the populace to rise up against the established powers, saying, among other things, and not by way of limitation. . . .

" . . . they have set up two military bases: one at Kamina, and one at Kitona; why all these bases? To intimidate you, to oppress you. What purpose do all these military bases serve in Africa?

Blacks are peaceful men, blacks are peace-loving men. Whom would we fight? All these bases, all these arms that are here, that are aimed our way? But we are determined. There is no holding back a determined people. Death awaits us today, tomorrow, some day in the future, we know not when. Death means nothing to us. The only thing that counts is freedom. And when we go forth to die tomorrow with you, monuments will be built in Stanleyville, in Luluabourg, in Coq, all over the country, to the victims of colonialism. March: don't be afraid!" . . .

" . . . This evening, during the night, trucks full of police . . . all that a provocation planned in advance. Confronted with the positions that we have taken, which are your positions, the administration wants to provoke incidents at any price, to provoke blacks, to send them packing or perhaps massacre them, but all that must not frighten us. Are you afraid?"

" . . . You are regarded as some sort of poultry that is to be killed offhandedly, like a chicken. What have we done? What have we done? What crime have we committed? Have we provoked the Europeans? Why are we being provoked in our own country? We don't have any arms." . . .

" . . . In the course of this congress the nationalist parties are going to study how we can organize our provisional government ourselves, without any intervention from the administration; the first task of this provisional government will be to prepare a draft of a constitution, which will then be voted on by the people. Once this proposed constitution is adopted, plans will be made to hold elections to select a representative government, elected by the people and for the people."

" . . . The principal aim of this Special Congress is to form, to establish, a common national liberation front."

Whereas the above charges have been brought against the defendant;

Whereas as a consequence it is the duty of the public prosecutor to open an investigation even in cases where the denunciation is

anonymous; and it is likewise his duty to seize a magnetic tape recorder if it is likely that proof of the infraction may be forthcoming as a result of hearing the tape;

THE TRIBUNAL AFTER FULL ARGUMENT

Finds the defendant guilty of charge I/a, b, and c, through the application of the provisions of article 20 of the Penal Code and on the basis either of article 186 or article 191 of the Penal Code, since penalties that are comminatory by law are identical, and sentences him to a penalty of four months of principal penal servitude;

Finds the defendant guilty of charge II/a and b, through the application of the provisions of article 20 of the Penal Code and on the basis either of article 186 or article 191 of the Penal Code, and sentences him to a penalty of two months of principal penal servitude;

Decrees that these sentences shall be served consecutively, that is to say, six months of principal penal servitude;

Orders that the defendant be taken into custody immediately.

Thus judged and pronounced in the public session of January 21, 1960, in Stanleyville.

On January 22 another scandalous incident suddenly occurred. The colonial administration secretly decided to transfer Lumumba to the prison in Jadotville, in Katanga.

TELEGRAM FROM LUMUMBA TO HIS ATTORNEYS

ROM AND MARRÈS, ATTORNEYS, STANLEYVILLE

BS 5826/533 JADOTVILLE 119 24 1100

RECEIVED TELEGRAM THANKS STEPS TAKEN STOP ASKED AND INSISTED BE VISITED BY YOU BEFORE DEPARTURE BUT AUTHORITIES STAN FIERCELY OPPOSED STOP WAS TRANSFERRED JADOTVILLE UNDER HIDEOUS CIRCUMSTANCES THROWN ON PLANE BAREFOOT SHIRTLESS HANDCUFFED AND PHYSICALLY ASSAULTED TILL ARRIVED ON BOARD STOP TOR-

TURE CONTINUES ALL MY POSSESSIONS REMAIN PRISON STAN AND NO CHANGE SHIRT STOP PLEASE PICK UP MY THINGS PRISON AND GIVE THEM MY BROTHER STOP AM IN MAXIMUM SECURITY PRISON JADOTVILLE RESERVED EXCLUSIVELY COMMON CRIMINALS DESPITE MY LEGAL STATUS AND NATURE MY SENTENCE STOP KEEPING CALM AND COLLECTED

LUMUMBA

In order to thwart the administration's maneuvers, the Congolese leaders at the Round Table Conference formed a United Front on January 19, and all the delegations demanded that Lumumba be set free, with Joseph Kasavubu, Joseph Bolikango, and Anicet Kashambara serving as their principal spokesmen.

On January 24, Lumumba was released from the Jadotville prison, despite a recommendation to the contrary by the Office of the Governor-General in Leopoldville. Lumumba took off from the Elisabethville airport amid the acclaim of thousands of Congolese and arrived in Brussels on January 25.

Lumumba gave this unpublished text to Jean van Lierde on his arrival in Brussels. It was marked for the Round Table session of Thursday, January 27, but was never delivered.

I would like first of all to thank the Belgian people, who rejected a repressive policy in the Congo; and joining their efforts with those of the Congolese people in the latter's struggle for their independence, secured my release from prison, thus allowing me to participate today in the Round Table Conference, where the future of the Congo is at stake.

I would next like to point out that my liberation will be meaningful only if all other Congolese political prisoners are also freed. The Belgian people are not aware that there are still thousands of Congolese in prison today and that many more are now being tried in the courts.

Although certain political leaders have been freed because public opinion was alerted, it is still necessary that the countless militants, both of the MNC and of the other political parties, who are still being persecuted without the public's being aware of it, be granted an immediate amnesty that will put an end to the repression of which they are the victims. Measures that will put an end to the present climate of oppression and unrest must be taken immediately.

The MNC notes with immense satisfaction that the principle of immediate independence has been recognized. In concert with all the other political parties, it calls for the proclamation of independence on June 1, 1960.

We want this independence to be a genuine independence, and not a facade.

We also want the independent Congo to be united for the higher interest of our country. Such unity is not only necessary but indispensable for the harmonious economic, social, and political development of the Congo. Such unity must be accompanied by a broad decentralization, which will take into account the diversity of the great Congolese nation.

The Congo today is practically under martial law. We do not understand why the Belgian administration is stepping up its policy of repression against the Congolese people at the very moment that the Belgian government is bowing before the necessity of recognizing the immediate independence of the Congo. This paradoxical situation must be ended. It can only create further incidents harmful to good relations between Belgium and the Congo.

The setting up of new institutions must be carried out in a calm atmosphere within a peaceful society. We believe that the future organization of the Congo must be the work of an elected assembly, with all men and women eighteen or over enjoying the right to vote.

It is indispensable that the necessary measures be taken at sessions of the Round Table to ensure that these elections are freely

and properly conducted, so that they will in no way be controlled or influenced by the administration.

When I went to the Elisabethville airport to take the plane to Belgium, on the very same day that I was released from prison, thousands of people turned out to publicly express their joy at the thought that the Congo is to be free in a few days.

Yesterday I was in prison and being beaten; today I am taking my place among my brothers at the Round Table. I shall participate in its labors without bitterness and without rancor.

United in our hearts and our feelings, we shall all work together to build a powerful and proud Congolese state in the heart of Black Africa.

After the Round Table session setting the date for independence, Lumumba and members of several other Congolese delegations (tribal chieftains, Assoreco, Conakat) met in the evening to celebrate the event. During this meeting, Lumumba made the following statement.

We have gathered together this evening to celebrate the coming independence of the Congo, the date of which has just been solemnly set as June 30, 1960. This is a historic date for our beloved and beautiful country. Belgium has aided the Congo for eighty years. For eighty years the people of the Congo have been in continuous contact with the Belgians. Belgium has done magnificent work in Africa, and we are sincerely proud of being the beneficiaries of that labor. But as in every human undertaking, change must come about. In recent years, the Congolese people were restless and demanded their liberation from the colonialist regime. This period was followed by hesitation, by discontent, by misunderstandings. There was a greater and greater rift between the Belgians and the Congolese, between Belgium and the Congo. We must regard what has happened in recent years as a page in history. And I cannot let this day go by without first thanking the king, who has endeavored

to carry out and pursue the work of Leopold II with courage and determination and has visited the Congo in order to evaluate the situation personally, thereby seeing that the Congolese people were loyal to him, although they wanted nonetheless to enjoy the prerogatives of sovereignty without delay.

Independence does not mean a break with Belgium, nor the expulsion of Belgians from the Congo. It means that the Congolese have grown up and want to govern their country with the continued cooperation of the Belgians. The Congolese people will take up their responsibilities tomorrow. As they assume their task, they will heed the advice of Belgium.

Why would Belgium not experience what other nations have experienced? I shall cite the case of Ghana, which has become totally independent without severing its ties with Great Britain. We here publicly state that we are going to guarantee the property rights of European enterprises, both those of Belgians and those of other nationalities, and the safety of their personnel.

We respect people's possessions and persons. We are not pirates. It would be inconceivable for our people to destroy what has been accomplished or to appropriate Belgian property in the Congo. What we ask is that the Belgians in the Congo adapt to the new situation and put themselves in the service not only of the Congolese people but of humanity.

The Belgians will be the first to be proud of us and the first to say that we have accomplished something magnificent. We would like to ask, to insist particularly, that colonial functionaries abandon their present attitude toward Africans. Those who are unwilling to adapt to the changes that will be made in the country ought to leave the Congo. Those who wish to remain in the country will enjoy our sincerest friendship.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are frankly expressing our feelings in this regard. We are seeking frank and sincere integration. We are going to prove in days to come that friendship between peoples is

not an empty word and that even though we have not been adequately prepared, we are going to govern our country without hatred, in a spirit of modesty, calling on Belgian technicians and advisers to help us.

We will have peasant cooperatives, and Belgians who wish to come to the Congo tomorrow will find a fraternal welcome in our country and will be able to help build the Congolese nation side by side with Congolese peasants. This requires a climate of confidence, of social peace. We will endeavor to bring calm, dignity, and order to the Congo.

Methods must change and contribute to the improvement of the living conditions of Congolese workers. I am grateful to the minister of the Congo, to the prime minister, to all the ministers and members of Parliament who have set the date of our independence.

All fourteen million of our people share our joy.

Patrice Lumumba immediately took a leading role in the labors of the Round Table, openly denouncing the backstage maneuvering of the European advisers of Moïse Tshombe's Conakat, who were attempting to destroy Congolese unity. On February 4, Lumumba presented a proposal that he, Joseph Iléo, and Daniel Kanza had drawn up the evening before:

When the work of the Round Table Conference is concluded, it will proceed to appoint an Executive Commission.

Composition:

This commission will be made up of twenty-one members, to be chosen by the delegates to the Round Table Conference.

There will be a Belgian president, having the rank of minister plenipotentiary heading a special mission. His appointment will be approved both by the Congolese delegates and by the Belgian government. There will be a Congolese vice-president.

One section of the commission, composed of six Congolese mem-

bers and one Belgian member, will remain in Brussels. It will be directed by the vice-president of the commission. It will work in close collaboration with the minister of the Congo.

A second section, composed of the president, twelve Congolese members, and one Belgian member, will reside in the Congo. It will work in close collaboration with the governor-general. Certain of its members may be sent on special missions.

Duties:

(a) To see that the recommendations and the decisions of the Round Table are carried out;

(b) To see that the rights of man, and particularly individual freedom, freedom of assembly, association, and information, freedom to engage in electoral campaigning, and protection of property and persons, are respected;

(c) To see that measures having a serious effect on the future of the Congo are not taken without its approval;

(d) To help bring about an atmosphere of calm, harmony, and peace in the Congo.

The prerogatives of the commission:

(a) The right to oppose the adoption of measures that appear to it to be contrary to the decisions of the Round Table, or of such a nature as to prejudice the regularity of the elections or the future of the Congolese state;

(b) The right to propose to the minister, to the governor-general, or to the governors of provinces and local authorities any measure capable of guaranteeing the execution of the decisions of the Round Table and promoting better relations between Belgium and the Congo;

(c) The right to supervise the mechanisms set up to ensure orderly elections;

(d) The right to send its members on missions to gather information or conduct research wherever such missions seem necessary.

The administration will put all the material means necessary for the execution of its tasks at the disposal of the commission.

Profiting from his stay in Belgium, Lumumba took it upon himself to go on a lecture tour in order to convince the Belgian public that the two peoples had entered a new phase. Because he was possessed of extraordinary physical stamina, Lumumba was able to work sixteen to eighteen hours a day for weeks at a time. His ability to make judgments and decisions rapidly and his powerful political influence constantly amazed his adversaries.

This text is a literal transcription of a tape recording of one of Lumumba's speeches and the ensuing debate. The occasion was a public meeting of the Amis de Présence Africaine in Brussels, February 6, 1960.

FROM PRISON TO THE ROUND TABLE

I came to Belgium last year to organize a lecture tour. The aim of my trip was to put the real aspirations of the Congolese people before the Belgian people. I told you what these aspirations were, in this very auditorium. I told you that the Congolese people were no longer willing to tolerate the colonial regime that was an open defiance of human dignity.

When I returned to the Congo following this lecture tour, I resigned from my job in order to put myself entirely at the service of the Congolese people. I encountered a great many difficulties and a great many hardships, leaving my wife and my four children behind, traveling to every corner of the country to prepare the people, educate them politically, and teach them their duties as citizens.

You are well aware that Belgium came out in favor of the independence of the Congo in its declaration of January 13. But it was a very vague sort of independence, for no definite date was set. We presented several resolutions to the minister of the Congo; we repeatedly demanded to know when the Congo would be granted its independence.

Subsequently, toward the end of the year, we held a congress in Stanleyville. This congress brought together the representatives of

the various provinces of the Congo. More than forty tribal chieftains attended this congress. We decided to participate in the elections to be held in December 1959, but only on condition that the minister open negotiations with us, because the minister had stated in his message of September 16, 1959, that communal and territorial elections would be held first, in December 1959; and then later, in March 1960, the communal and territorial advisers could get together to appoint the provincial advisers; and around September 1960 there would be a central government, presided over by the governor-general; he also stated that the Congo could not hope to be independent for four years. Our congress did not approve of this government plan at all. We therefore asked the minister to open negotiations with us immediately. The minister flatly refused to do so.

Receiving this negative answer, the congress decided not to subscribe to the government's plan, because we failed to see how a Congolese government could continue to be headed by a governor-general. We were well aware that it was not genuine independence that we were being promised. And we said that we would die rather than vote for this plan, which was merely a cover-up for the perpetuation of a colonial regime in the Congo. The entire populace was standing up for its rights; the entire populace was demanding immediate independence; and we said that we were going to mobilize every man, woman, and child in the country to serve the cause of Congolese revolution, to serve the cause of peaceful revolution, because our fundamental doctrine, as I stated in this very auditorium, as I have always stated in all our public meetings, is based on non-violence.

Seeing that the populace agreed with us (thousands and thousands of people, since no one wanted to go along with the administration any more), the authorities decided to make an all-out effort to arrest me. The local administration then carefully hatched and staged a plot to allow them to do so. A police officer came to our meetings and recorded my speeches on tape. After all my

speeches had been recorded, the tapes were taken to the Office of the Public Prosecutor, and immediately afterward I was issued a summons. They told me: "You are to appear in the Office of the Royal Prosecutor." This occurred while we were still holding not only the MNC congress, which ended on the twenty-ninth of September — or rather, the twenty-eighth — but also another congress bringing together the six [sic] political parties, which opened on the twenty-ninth. There was a delegation from Rwanda-Burundi, and the other political parties had come from all over the Congo. All of them had taken the same stand, and the officials had said: "Lumumba is a dangerous individual because everywhere he goes the people follow him. If we let him run around loose, our plans will fail, because the populace is going to follow him. We must stop him."

Since there was no possibility of stopping me, they then planned and staged a repressive attack on the people of Stanleyville, as I explained. We were holding a private meeting behind closed doors in a private home. We heard rifle shots — the beginning of the repression. Immediately thereafter, we saw dead bodies lying all over; there was widespread panic; the people were overwrought and asking: "Why is this happening, what have we done?" Then I hid for several days in a house. "We'll see what's going to happen now," I said. They were looking everywhere for me. And after a few days, when things had calmed down somewhat, I came out of hiding. When the repression first began I went to the police and asked them to stop shooting. I said: "Officers, there is no reason for you to behave like this." They shot at me. Even though I had an immatriculation card and had the same legal rights as Europeans, I was arrested and physically assaulted and thrown into a pitch-dark little cell where I was forced to lie on the floor and was given a blanket only when I protested and demanded one.

A week later I was transferred to a military camp, where I spent a month in a combination toilet and shower room with no opening and no ventilation. I wrote to the royal prosecutor and informed

him that the conditions in which I was being held were horrible. Nothing happened. It was not until my children went to the governor-general and the general prosecutor and pleaded with them on my behalf that I was finally taken out of this military camp, after several months, and transferred on December twelfth to a prison, where conditions were somewhat better than the ones I had had to endure previously. Everything possible was done to break my spirit, but I knew that freedom is the ideal for which from time immemorial, in every country in the world, men have fought and died, and I made a choice: to serve my country. I bore all my troubles courageously.

Eventually I appeared in court, but before that the governor, two days before my arrest, made speeches saying: "Lumumba has tried to dig a bloody trench between whites and blacks, and Lumumba was trained in revolutionary techniques abroad," and claiming that I was the one who had incited the populace to riot. I was vilified in every possible way; I was jeered at, insulted, and dragged in the mud simply because I demanded our country's freedom. I have never been against the white man; I have never been against individual persons; what I have always rebelled against is injustice. Against a regime whose time was long past. I went before the tribunal. An investigation was conducted: several witnesses were summoned, and each and every one of them declared that it was not Lumumba who was responsible for the incidents in Stanleyville. "He never incited us to any sort of violence," they said, and testified that I had always called upon people to remain calm.

Then when I appeared before the magistrates, they insisted that no mention whatsoever be made of the tragic events of October 30; they insisted that no mention be made of the bloody events of the thirtieth of October: [there had been violence, they claimed] simply because Lumumba had made inflammatory speeches, because in his speeches he had said, "Down with the Belgian colonial policy." Because in his speeches he had called the Belgian government a conservative and dictatorial government, because in his speeches Lu-

mumba had attacked the prestige of the Congo administration, because Lumumba had incited the populace to refuse to vote. All these accusations were proved to be totally false, and if I was sentenced to six months in prison, it was only so that no one would publicly declare that it was the administration that was guilty; it was a pretext: I was in no way guilty. It was the local administration that planned the repression; it was the governor of Stanleyville who was responsible for what happened in Stanleyville. Thirty Congolese were literally murdered, for no plausible reason whatsoever. There was no unrest whatsoever in the African quarter of the city; there was no uprising, absolutely nothing; everything was calm. But for years now in the Congo it has been necessary to bow and scrape, to say amen continually, to say yes continually when people should be saying no, in order to enjoy the favor of the administration or of certain colonial circles. When a person wishes to defend his country, when he wishes to defend freedom, the label "revolutionary" is immediately pinned on him; he is immediately called an agitator, a petty hoodlum — all sorts of names.

After these events, the minister came to the Congo and saw the realities of the situation. Then the king came to the Congo, directly to Stanleyville. He saw with his own eyes that the populace was no longer willing to tolerate the colonial regime. The very same day that the king arrived, thousands and thousands of people went to the prison and said, "We want Lumumba released from prison today." The king realized that this was the situation throughout the country, and finally, after all the misunderstandings and the lack of comprehension, the Belgians bowed to the evidence: the Congolese people had to be free. The Round Table Conference was then called.

I appeared before the tribunal on January 18, 1960. I was sentenced on the twenty-first. The royal prosecutor asked for a prison sentence of four years; the government sentenced me to six months. That very day, despite the fact that any gathering of more than five people had been forbidden, several thousand people came to the

prison after I had been sentenced. They surrounded it and said, "If Lumumba isn't let out of prison, things are going to go very badly."

On the twenty-second, one day after I had been sentenced, I was in my cell reading, barefoot, in my undershirt, without a shirt. The director of the prison came in and said, "We've got bad news for you." I thought that perhaps a member of my family had died. He was accompanied by a group of police officers. He said to me, "You are to be taken to Jadotville immediately." I said to him, "How can that possibly be?" and he replied, "It's true; you're being transferred." I said, "But how can I leave here on such short notice? . . . I should have been advised at least a day in advance so I could pack my things and see my attorneys." "No, that is out of the question." I said, "Will you please send for my attorneys?" "Seeing your attorneys is out of the question," he answered. They came for me immediately thereafter, and as you can see I was physically assaulted.* They took me away. I was not even allowed to walk to the police van; they threw me in it like a stick of wood. I was taken to the airfield, made to get out of the van, and thrown onto the plane. My neck was twisted. I was manhandled, and all my things were still in the prison. When I arrived in Elisabethville I was taken off the plane as if I were a common thief, and certain Europeans took great delight in photographing me, and from there I was taken directly to Jadotville, where I was thrown in a maximum security prison, where only common criminals or prisoners who have been condemned to death or been given life sentences are kept. I was locked in a cell there.

When the populace learned that I had been physically assaulted, several hundred people immediately surrounded the Jadotville prison. The local authorities were sympathetic. I was able to receive at least a hundred visitors that same day, and on the following day I received many more visitors, from Bukama, from Elisabethville,

* Lumumba was wearing bandages on his wrists.

from all over, more or less, and on the third day news came that I was to leave for Belgium.

I didn't have anything, no suit, no shoes, absolutely nothing. The authorities had to find me a suit and other things so I could get dressed. The Africans took up a collection and bought me the rest of the clothes I needed. I was escorted from Jadotville by the district commissioner and military jeeps. When I got to the airport, there were at least ten thousand Congolese there; they were delighted, and kept shouting, right there in front of the provincial commissioner: "Down with colonialism, down with the colonialists, long live immediate independence!" and the atmosphere was now entirely different. Reporters came to ask me what my impressions were. And I told them: "Gentlemen, you may tell the people of the Congo, and the Europeans in particular, that I am not at all bitter, that this is a page of history, and that I am going to Brussels to defend the interests of the country, the interests of the Congo, and that I have no intention of exploiting the personal hardships I have suffered, all the injustices of which I was a victim, so as to damage future relations between the Congo and Belgium."

I arrived in Brussels and took part in the work sessions of the Round Table Conference, and my position has remained unchanged during the conference. This position is that the Congo must be given total and immediate independence.

On July 1, 1960, the Congo will join the ranks of free peoples. It was on July 1, 1885, that the independence of the Congo was recognized by the international powers, and the independence of the Congo is celebrated on July first each year in our country. On the first of July, we are going to be masters of our own fate.

What steps will now be taken to implement the independence of the Congo? I have presented a proposal to the commission charged with studying the structures of the Congolese state. The Congolese people at present no longer trust the colonial administration in power. During the transition period, from now until June

30, an executive commission will have to assume certain duties in order to pacify the people. The minister has indicated that he approves of this proposal, and when this conference closes, there will be a permanent commission, composed of twelve members, nine of whom will remain here in Brussels and three of whom will be attached to the governor-general's office. This commission and the minister will jointly study the texts setting up the institutions that will govern the Congolese state. In accordance with the proposal made by Senator Rolin, this commission will study and draw up drafts of the Congolese Constitution at the same time, so that when the Constituent Committee takes over after the thirtieth of June, it will have a basis on which to work. There will also be a commission composed of three members in each province of the Congo. Our political independence is now an accomplished fact. We can no longer question the sincerity and the good intentions of the Belgian government. What are we going to do now that the independence of the Congo is within sight? We are well aware that political independence will not benefit our people if it is not immediately accompanied by harmonious, stable, and prosperous economic development. Independence must mean the improvement of the living conditions of us Congolese, and we must put our shoulder to the wheel in the days to come so as to bring about a climate of confidence, order, and collaboration, not only for the Congolese themselves but also for the Belgians and Europeans who live among us.

To us independence does not mean the expulsion of the Europeans now in the Congo; to us independence does not mean a severing of our relations with Belgium. We are well aware that for many years now the Belgian people in the mother country have condemned the colonial regime enslaving fourteen million people. We are well aware that each time we come to Belgium, men, women, and children welcome us with open arms. We are well aware that our Congolese brothers who have lived for years in Belgium have never suffered, never complained about their relations

with the Belgians. We have encountered difficulties and not a few problems, but only with a handful of colonialists, a handful of Europeans who live among us in the Congo. We do not wish to generalize. There are certain Belgians who have always understood us; there are certain Belgians who have never wanted to come out openly in our favor because they were very much afraid of the reaction of other Belgians who were behind the times. But all these Europeans can remain as far as we are concerned; the path lies open for those who are unwilling to adapt to change in the country; they can either remain there with us and adapt to this change, or if they are unwilling to adapt to this new order of things, they can go back to Belgium. But we will guarantee the safety of the persons and the possessions of those who are willing to work with us. We are well aware that the European companies now in the Congo are indispensable for the development of the country, and it is for this reason that our government, which will take over in a few months, is going to offer guarantees to these companies, is going to offer guarantees to these Europeans who will be the agents of economic progress tomorrow, as has already been the case in certain territories of Africa. Why should Belgium not be capable of accomplishing in Africa what other nations have accomplished there? Since Ghana has been independent, the European population has tripled, and when you visit Ghana today, you find genuine integration. There are no problems between whites and blacks. There is a human problem, and in our country, in the Congo, the problem that will arise will no longer be a problem of blacks and whites, but the problem of mutual understanding, the problem of building the Congo. And we wish to do this building with the Belgians, and with any other Europeans of good will and good faith who care to settle among us.

You are well aware that the blacks of the Congo have welcomed the Belgians with open arms for eighty years. Our country is a hospitable one. When any European settler goes hunting, travels anywhere in the country, or gets lost in the forest today, he is sure of

finding Africans who will welcome him. We are not racists; we are not xenophobes; we are understanding people, people whose sense of human dignity has been wounded for years by the unsympathetic attitude of certain persons. I believe, in all modesty, that I am expressing the feelings of my brothers in the Congo. It is these feelings that I am putting before you here. What we wish to create in the Congo is a nation of brothers, a homogeneous society, and we will do everything in our power to combat, to destroy every vestige of colonialism and tribalism.

The Congolese nation today is rebelling against certain people who view this turn of events with disfavor, who wish to create opposition on every hand. Thus there are those who are trying to set the various sectors of the Congolese population against each other, using the word "federalism" as a cover-up. For us, both "federalism" and "unitarism" are valid political formulas. But as we are seeing in the Congo today, those who seemingly advocate federalism are not really advocating that at all; what they are really advocating is separatism. What is happening in Katanga is that a few colonists are saying: "This country is about to become independent, and all the riches of Katanga are going to serve this great nation, the nation of the black. No, Katanga must be an independent state," so that it will be large-scale capitalism that will dominate Africans economically tomorrow. And that is the danger. Even at the Round Table Conference, there has been string pulling behind the scenes; those in power in certain circles have moved in and done their utmost to set us against each other. And what value would it have, this independence that we have demanded for so long, if all it means is that tomorrow we will fall into the hands of other guardians? What value would it have if it merely meant that tomorrow all of us tore each other apart in the Congo? That is why we energetically defend the cause of unity, because federalism in the Congo presupposes and clearly represents ethnic separatism, which would mean that tomorrow each leader would marshal the support of his clan, his tribe, in order to be elected, and then what would

happen to the six provinces constituting the republic? Each chief of state would be open to corruption: people would come and offer a great deal of money for setting up this factory or that; people would say, "Your province is very rich; you must not allow your money to be sent to the other provinces," and divisions and dissension would be created among us. And the populace, the popular masses, would not benefit from independence at all. We are certain that the Congo, with its present political and economic unity, is going to play a preponderant role in Africa. The time has come today for far-reaching associations. In the past our various groups lived entirely apart from each other. Through the action of Leopold II, these peoples were brought together, and for eighty years we have lived in close association. And everywhere I go on my travels around the country, even in regions I have never visited before, chieftains say to me: "Our affairs have been run by a government for eighty years, by a unitary government, so to speak. So why should we refuse to be governed by our own sons tomorrow?"

It is not the Congolese who are demanding federalism. There are other reasons behind this, and that is why we condemn it; we do not want this independence that we are demanding and that we have just won to serve a few individuals, a few financial groups; we want this independence to serve all classes of the Congolese people. And I am certain that the Belgian people will take the greatest pride tomorrow in having accomplished a great handiwork in Africa, and it would be a great shame if there were strife and disorders and internal struggles among us now that Belgium has announced that it is in favor of the independence of the Congo, so that others would say, "Belgians, you have been in the Congo for eighty years and you have not managed to educate the people." It would be a shame if this were to happen; it would be like a parent who has brought up a child, who has tried to educate this child, and who now learns that he is a murderer, a thief. This parent would never be proud of his child. . . . The same thing would be true of Belgium, and that is why we wish to state clearly that we

do not want the government to be under the influence of a few financial circles who see the Congo only as a source of dividends to be shared among them.

The Congo of daddy's time, the Congo of fortune hunters, no longer exists today. That is a thing of the past. There is a new Congo today and we wish to redouble our efforts, to set up great rural cooperatives, and tomorrow we will do away with all customs barriers and call on young Belgians who want to help us. We would like them to know that a great future awaits them there. Young Belgians, what are you doing staying here in Belgium? [Applause.] We must build, we must create, down in the Congo. We therefore extend a friendly invitation to them. We do not have enough people qualified to run the country. And that is why I asked the minister to speed up the training of cadres, and presented him with a proposal aimed at achieving this. How could we be given our independence? Where are the men? A number of Congolese must come immediately to Belgium and get training in every possible area, so that on the first of July we have men to take over the responsibilities of running the country, and we want teachers, doctors, jurists, and Belgian peasants to come to the Congo tomorrow and work with the Congolese peasants, showing them how to put agricultural machines together and how to plant crops. We are well aware that there are many Belgians who have the best of intentions, who have long attempted to come to the Congo, but those who have tried to monopolize everything in the Congo have always put obstacles in their way. But the days of such barriers are over as far as we are concerned, and in a spirit of brotherhood we solemnly call upon you to aid us, in the name of the Congolese people.

This is how we view the prospect of Congolese independence. We are going to fight. At present, moves are being made in certain circles or certain nations to corrupt the Congolese. Some of them are present here, trying to corrupt one or another of us; we are going to fight all that. We wish to build our country honestly; in a spirit of honesty. I must thank the members of this great house of free-

dom. This house [that of the Amis de Présence Africaine] is a great one for me, even though its physical dimensions are small. Its generosity of thought, everything it does each time Africans come here to create human contacts, are what make it great. This contact that I have with you is not a lecture; it is an exchange of views. We need your counsel. Each time we leave the Congo and come here to this house, we find another atmosphere entirely. There is a communicative human warmth. [Laughter in the auditorium, where it was very hot because of the many people in attendance.]

We are advocates of friendship between peoples; this friendship must be genuine, and we feel that it is here among you, and tomorrow the young ladies who are here will come to our country as welfare workers to educate our Congolese girls. Our efforts tomorrow must bring about a harmonious evolution of our peoples, and we want this evolution, the most fundamental one of all, especially that of our women, which has been somewhat neglected under the colonial regime — we want our women to have the same level of education that we men have, because when a man is educated, it is only an individual who is educated, but when a woman is educated, an entire family, an entire generation is educated. We want many Congolese girls to come to Belgium tomorrow to get an education, and we want many Belgian girls to come to the Congo to teach and instruct our girls. And it is so as to ensure equality between men and women that the Congolese movement demands the same political rights for women as for men. We have proposed that both men and women eighteen or over be allowed to participate in the coming elections. But certain reactionary circles, those that still insist on regarding women as servants, are opposed to this plan and have a hand in the scheme to prevent this from happening. I am certain that when I go back to the Congo, I shall conduct a noisy campaign on behalf of Congolese women. [Applause.]

Ladies and gentlemen, you see what our few basic ideas are: our constant concern has been the attainment of our most fundamental freedoms, with no restriction whatsoever. And after a hard fight we

have now won these freedoms. I must pay sincere tribute to Belgium. I believe that this is the first time in the history of colonization that a colony has attained the rank of a sovereign state without a transition period, and today there is no further need for discussion between Belgium and the Congo. The period of domination is at an end, it is over and done with. A new era is beginning today; the second phase of the evolution of the Congo will take place within the framework of economic cooperation between our two independent countries, between Belgium and the Congo; and I assure you that the nature, the viability, of these future relations between the Congo and Belgium depends most of all on the Europeans and the Belgians. We are very well disposed toward Belgium, but we deplore the attitude of certain Europeans who have settled among us and whose behavior represents a great threat to relations between Belgium and the Congo. I am certain, however, that through the efforts we are about to make, even those who did not understand before will understand now that their interest lies in the Congo and in working with the Congolese, and we are going to ask everyone to aid the Congo, to aid the future Congolese government to get started and build the country. We have no evil intentions with regard to our European brothers. We are going to prove tomorrow that we are well aware of the steps required to create friendship between peoples. And we are going to accomplish this not only with words but with acts. I am certain that public opinion, the opinion of Belgian youth, both workers and intellectuals, the press, young people — Belgian opinion in general — is going to support massively the future Congolese state. I believe that the Belgians will not hesitate to help us and guide our footsteps. Tomorrow, in ten years, in twenty years, in fifty years, the Belgians and we Congolese will be very proud to have brought grandeur to the center of this Black Africa that was once a mysterious continent, in harmony and mutual understanding.

Ladies and gentlemen, I put myself at your disposal to answer

any questions you may wish to ask me. Our people await us today with impatience and enthusiasm. As we go about creating national unity, as we sing of our freedom tomorrow when independence is proclaimed, we will set a date with you, we will extend an invitation to you to join with us in proclaiming the independence of the great Congolese state. [Applause.]

Q. Mr. Lumumba, did you say that you were hostile to the principle of federalism? Do you believe that the Congo, being what it is, that is to say a vast country with a number of regions that are quite different, can be effectively administered by a central government? Would you be opposed, for instance, to six republics? Would you be opposed to a state such as the United States of America, which is not a republic, but states that have a certain number of institutions of their own under a federal government and are therefore not republics? Would you be opposed to six states that would have certain powers of their own?

A. My view of the matter is this: we will have a state, a central government. And each of the present provinces will enjoy autonomy, and therefore there will be a decentralized central government, with the present provincial entities enjoying a certain autonomy and certain specifically defined powers. At today's meeting of the commission, even those who were in favor of federalism came around to this conclusion, which is absolutely necessary if the political and economic unity of the Congo is to be preserved, though the provinces would still enjoy a certain autonomy and some power in matters of provincial interest. It is thus absolutely necessary that each province be administered by a provincial assembly and an executive who will be guided by a commissioner of the central government. We have all arrived at this conclusion, which satisfies even those who were in favor of federalism.

Q. In your opinion, is this something quite similar to the organization of the United States of America?

A. I don't know how the United States is organized, but what we want is a clear definition of what powers belong to the central government and what powers belong to the provinces.

Q. You spoke of financial groups. I would like to know if a Congolese government might not have to nationalize certain financial groups in order to prevent them from exercising the harmful influence that they have exercised in all the underdeveloped countries, or do you have some other solution to this problem in mind? Specifically, you have railroad companies in the Congo; do you believe that it is necessary for the Congolese government to nationalize them, or to nationalize power companies?

A. Given the present state of affairs, the Congo cannot develop without capital. This is one point. And our political program does not call for nationalization. We would thus like established small European companies to continue to do business as they are doing; large corporations already set up in the Congo will likewise continue to do business as they are doing. But what the Congolese government will demand is that the national revenue be distributed equitably and that the industrialization of the Congo be based on the satisfaction of the needs of the people; we have therefore wisely and intelligently rejected any hard and fast principles as to whether we are going to nationalize or do this or that. We are going to study the direction we want our government to move in without making violent changes in the beginning, because we would risk undergoing a certain period of crisis or encounter difficulties were we to do so. I am convinced that the future Congolese government will study this problem seriously and carefully.

Q. Mr. Lumumba, I would like to get back to the question of structures. Are you in favor of a second chamber in which there would be equal representation of the different units going to make up the Congo?

A. Yes; that is to say, that was my own personal proposal. We will have two chambers: the first of these will be a house of representatives or a chamber of deputies, which will be made up of 135

deputies, that is to say, one deputy per 100,000 inhabitants. These deputies will be elected by direct universal suffrage. Then we will have a senate. As there are provinces that are less densely populated than others, we have said that in order to satisfy all the provinces there will be twelve senators per province, and thus seventy-two of them in all. In addition, there will be one senator per province chosen by the senate as a body. There will thus be equal representation of all the provinces in the senate.

Q. Mr. Lumumba, it seems to me that if you do that, you will arrive at a federalist type of structure, for I believe that the conflict is not between federalism and a unitarian state, but rather between federalism and confederation, and that those tending toward separatism would be more or less in favor of a confederation, in which the powers of the states forming the confederation would be much broader.

A. I don't know, because the conclusion we have arrived at is that we must have a highly decentralized unitarian government. That is the conclusion.

Q. Are you in fact opposed to the sort of federalism proposed by the Conakat or that proposed by Kasai?

A. The federalism proposed by the Conakat is extremely reactionary and is really separatism.

JEAN VAN LIERDE. By and large, I believe that they arrived at an intermediate position between the various federalist positions — that of the coalition, for example, since that of the Conakat is obviously motivated by separatist intentions — an intermediate position between that of the coalition and that of those in favor of unitarian power, but as Lumumba has put it so well, it is necessary in any event to deal with questions of political power or economic questions on a unified national basis, just as higher education would obviously not be left in the hands of the provinces. There are not going to be six universities in the Congo, naturally, but it is clear that it will be the centralized state that will make the decisions in

this whole area. As he has explained, the provincial powers will be subordinate to federal principles on the provincial level.

PATRICE LUMUMBA. It was in regard to this very subject that the leaders of the Conakat and the Abako coalition recognized and agreed with us that the granting of prospecting rights within concessions, those of mining companies for example, lies within the province of the central power. We discussed the Union Minière and Inga in particular, because there were certain provinces that thought that these riches would belong to us if there were federalism. We have said that this will in no way be the case; the riches of the Congo are a common patrimony that must benefit all classes of people. The right to regulate all these companies and Inga belongs to the central power, and thus to the central government. Kanza has indicated that he agrees, as has the Conakat.* We thus won an important point today.

Q. Mr. Lumumba, you have stressed the danger that you might run into a dictatorship of Belgian capital in the Congo, but I believe that there is one problem you did not discuss: this situation might be brought about not only by Belgian capital, but, as you know very well, there are also powerful foreign interests that are obviously playing a very active role at the Round Table Conference now being held in Brussels. There is not the shadow of a doubt that contacts are being established between the representatives of the great powers, whether those of Moscow or those of the United States, but it is also certain that above and beyond this question of the independence of the Congo there are economic questions that are playing a preponderant role. We must not forget that the Congo produces nearly 45 percent of the world's copper, and so on . . . and there obviously is foreign capital interested in this fact. Don't you believe that there is also the danger of a dictatorship by capital coming from these sources?

* At this point Daniel Kanza had replaced Joseph Kasavubu as the Abako's representative at the Round Table, for the latter had disappeared.

A. There definitely is a danger of this, and I have pointed it out in a message I sent the people of the Congo today, in which I myself said, "There are certain delegates to the conference who have flown off to other countries that I do not care to mention." This is what I said: we are going to combat all these moves to bribe us. There is an obvious danger of this. Steps have already been taken in that direction; people have been coming to us and saying, "Listen, we are going to help you," and so on. . . . "The Belgians don't have enough money to develop the Congo, because it's a huge country." This is a great danger, and that is why I publicly denounced these views in a message addressed to the Congo.

Q. Mr. Lumumba, you said that economic and social development must accompany political development. Has your party, the MNC, already set up a program for this?

A. Since we are a political party, we obviously have a political program, a social program, and an economic program, because the three always go hand in hand. There is no political party that has any reason for being if it does not have a rational program in all these areas. We are going to publicize this program during the coming elections and say straight out to the people: here is our economic program, our social program, and this is what we are going to do if we are in power tomorrow, because things are different now. I know for a fact that when I came here last year, I was continually asked, as I was even in the Congo, "You keep demanding independence, of course, but where is your political and economic program?" I replied, "It's no use having one until we're in power; you'll just take this program and file it away in a drawer or throw it in the wastebasket." But the time has now come to present our economic and social program to the people; it was necessary to obtain our political independence first, however, for everything else depends on it.

Q. Do you really believe that you have all the African population behind you, even when you defend the right of women to vote?

A. I for my part have said that this [depriving women of the right

to vote] is not fair since women are counted in the census right along with men. To me, the excuses [for not giving them the vote] are pointless. It is simply an attempt to keep women on the sidelines, but all the educated young people understand that we are no longer living in the old days when women were always regarded as people who should stay in the background, and I know that the tide is running in favor of women and I have therefore already set up a large national organization, the Union des Femmes Démocratiques du Congo [Union of Democratic Women of the Congo], a political organization bringing women together, and women all over the country are beginning to agitate, to demand independence, and I know that in December, when we held our congress, there was a woman who delivered a magnificent speech, in which she said, "If we're not allowed to vote in the coming elections, we're going to sabotage them." [Laughter in the audience.]

Q. Mr. Lumumba, you mentioned the future relations between Belgium and the Congo just now, and said that you wanted these relations to continue to be very close ones. What form do you think these relations should take? One similar to that in the French Community or in the British Commonwealth? Have you any ideas on the subject?

A. I do have an idea. I know what form these relations should take, but as we have not yet reached an agreement, I cannot discuss my personal intentions in this regard, since I want this matter to be settled in and through unanimous agreement with all my friends, and I am not in the habit of taking personal stands, especially at a time such as this, when we are actively negotiating with Belgium.

Q. Mr. Lumumba, you are extremely generous with regard to the situation of the whites in the Congo, the great majority of whom you would like to see remain in the Congo. But in the interests of the Congo itself, two problems seem to me to arise:

— The first is that of the administration [*there is a great stir in*

the audience at this point], an administration that has been colonialist; isn't this a danger to the independence of the Congo?

— The second is that of giving back the Congolese people as a whole their rightful share in property and land, which has been distributed in a rather capricious way, to say the least. Isn't the recovery of large and small parcels of Congolese land going to pose problems that will threaten the situation of certain colonials living in the country, both those with large holdings and those with smaller ones?

A. As regards the question of government functionaries, it is certain that there are many jobs that will have to be turned over to Africans after the first of July. There are certain functionaries who will become useless, so to speak, because they cost a great deal in the first place, and we have Africans who have the necessary aptitudes to carry out these functions and who will cost the Congolese state less. But I also know, on the other hand, that there are functionaries presently in the Congo who will fill the role of advisers and technicians, and we are going to make an agreement with the Belgian government in regard to Belgium's technical assistance to the Congo, thus allowing these functionaries to stay in the country. We are going to grant them a special status within the framework of the overall status that the new government will establish, because we cannot send all the functionaries now in the Congo packing, for first we need men to replace them. This must be done gradually, because we do not want to give the impression that in our eyes independence is tantamount to a sudden seizure of power, and since this is a delicate matter, it is in our interest to do this in a very intelligent sort of way; whenever there is an African who can fill a certain job, he will be given priority, and I know many functionaries who tell me that they are ready and willing to serve the young Congolese state with the same loyalty that they have always served the Belgian government. I know that there are some who have not always behaved well toward the Congolese, but you may be certain that on the first of July they will act differently. [Applause.]

As for the land question, it is quite true that the colonial administration has seized land belonging to Congolese in many regions. These lands were seized under the law of eminent domain and then arbitrarily distributed, and even today there are large concessions that are not exploited. It is to be expected that we will review all these old agreements, these contracts, in the superior interests of the people of the Congo. But from another point of view, we must take other factors into account — I am thinking, for instance, of small companies doing business there which employ native workers. This is no reason to say, "Gentlemen, this is an independent government and we are taking over everything that belongs to you here." That sort of thing is not done; we are not pirates who are going to seize everything belonging to Europeans. But there are large concessions, the National Committee of Kivu, for example, with acres and acres, thousands of acres of land belonging to natives; it is quite natural that we should take all of this back, it is quite certain that we will, but as I said in the beginning, we cannot lay down broad general guidelines or great principles at the outset, and definitely say that we are going to nationalize. I have no such pretensions, and personally, as a mere leader of a party, I cannot foresee the intentions of the Congolese government that will take over tomorrow.

Q. My point is this. It concerns the constitution. This is the key document, and it must be drawn up carefully. I do not know if you have already drawn up a preliminary draft, but you still have time before independence, my dear friend Lumumba — I call you that because, like you, I have a revolutionary spirit — to solve the problem of the exploitation of man by man. But let me say that the world is vast, and by that I mean that when you draw up a preliminary draft of the constitution, try to show the world that something will have changed in the Congo twenty-five years from now. You are about to create a new state. Do not call only on advisers from Belgium; there are others elsewhere to call on.

How are you going to eliminate the tribal chieftains? They have

absolute power over their tribes, do they not? It is thus going to be extremely difficult to eliminate them.

And do you agree that there should be universal suffrage? And that government funds should be granted religious organizations?

A. As to the first question, I thank you for your advice when you say that the Congo must be great twenty-five years from now. The exploitation of man by man? As to that, I say: political independence will not mean anything to us if it is not immediately accompanied by economic development, and this development must be based on the satisfaction of man's needs. I can say to you in all sincerity that we are going to double our efforts to make this independence real, to make this independence benefit the people, not simply so that they may enjoy freedom, but so that their living conditions may be bettered, and they may see improvement from the cultural or technical point of view within the framework of mutual aid between peoples. Here in Belgium, you have technicians from America, from France, from all over the world, more or less. You have Italians in your mines who have come here to help you, and even though they are not Belgian you have not driven them away. In our country, in the Congo, it is a fact that Belgians were the first to come there; they have accomplished a great deal in the Congo, and I believe that they have prior rights to a certain moral compensation for what they have done in the Congo, but that does not preclude our calling on other friendly nations, just as all the other peoples of the world have done, for we are now living in a period of interdependence between nations.

As regards the other question, about tribal authorities: we are not going to drive tribal chieftains out, but we want them to march ahead with us, we want them to understand the need to change and progress. It is for this very reason that many chieftains have joined our political organization, personally become leaders in it, and set up chapters of our party almost everywhere in the country. We are therefore going to give traditional tribal chieftains who have au-

thority over their people a privileged place within the framework of the independent Congo. We are going to reform present tribal institutions, and replace all the tribal districts created by the colonial administration since 1933 with rural communes directed by legally appointed leaders selected from among the traditional tribal chieftains.

As regards the voting of a budget for religious organizations, I do not know what the Congolese government will do, but it is certain that our constitution will guarantee religious freedom. This is a democratic Western practice, and we shall also apply it in our country. We thus will respect everyone's religious creed, and the government will guarantee this in the country's constitution.

Q. What do you plan to do about primary education?

A. Primary education today is still not adequate. What is more, it does not fit our needs. For a young state such as the Congo, the first concern should be to educate people. And that is why I believe that education should be the largest item in the budget. It is necessary to educate men, to train technicians, and therefore technical and professional schools are needed, because we do not have the men we need at present. The colonial regime was content merely to set up a few primary and intermediate schools, but there are no professional and technical schools, and these are indispensable. Intellectuals or bureaucrats cannot build a country, and I assure you that in our future government our very first concern will be the development of schools, not only primary schools, but above all technical and professional schools, because we already have two universities that are sufficient to meet our needs; but we are going to set up primary schools even in the interior of the country, even in the bush, so that a year or two from now primary education can be made compulsory.

Q. Will you have sufficient personnel?

A. We are going to recruit personnel. And that is why I call on young Belgians who have the necessary qualifications.

Q. You spoke just now of the validity of certain contracts, but if you allow yourself to question the validity of some contracts, it seems to me that you may cast doubt on the validity of all contracts. If the future government casts doubt on certain contracts, why would it not question all contracts made in the past?

A. I believe that logically you cannot generalize from particular cases. There is no need to generalize simply because there are two or three contracts that must be reviewed. There are certain contracts that must be respected since they are not at all incompatible with the interests of the future government.

Q. Mr. Lumumba, if I recall correctly, you gave a lecture last March at the University of Louvain, and in the ensuing debate, such as the one this evening, I asked you whether, in your opinion, the rumors according to which Mr. Kasavubu was planning to form a Lower Congo State that would be completely separate from the Congo and have ties to the French Lower Congo had any basis in fact. You replied that they did not, that there was nothing to them. I would like to know if you are still of the same opinion today. I would also like to ask you a question that seems to me to be a very valid one: what problem does Kasavubu represent today, in your opinion? This is doubtless a question in everybody's mind at present.

A. I personally have a great deal of respect for my friend Kasavubu. We have fought together to free the Congo from the colonial regime. As for what his intentions may be, I cannot judge them; I do not wish to express any opinion with regard to him. [Applause.]

Q. When the Congo is independent, will Belgians who work in the Congo be able to become Congolese citizens and have the right to vote, Mr. Lumumba?

A. It is certain that from the point of view of international law, our constitution will specify the conditions that must be met to acquire Congolese citizenship. Every Belgian, and every other European who has settled in the Congo, will be able to ask to become a naturalized citizen. If he meets the conditions laid down in the

constitution, he will enjoy the same political rights as native-born citizens. We are thus not opposed to Belgians choosing to become Congolese citizens; on the contrary, they will thereby give proof of their loyalty to the Congolese nation. . . .

Q. What is the nationality of Belgian children born in the Congo?

A. Belgian children born in the Congo have Belgian citizenship, I believe; in the eyes of the law, they are Belgian citizens.

Q. What about after independence?

A. After independence, it will depend on their intentions!

Q. I would like to know what Mr. Lumumba thinks of the possible maintenance of "single status." He has called upon European technicians, both from Belgium and from other countries, to come to the Congo. I would like to know what Mr. Lumumba thinks of the economic possibility of maintaining the "single status" in the Congo in the years to come. To simplify the problem, I will take two hypothetical individuals: a Congolese and a European having exactly the same functions and the same qualifications and the same salary or a different salary. They are both indispensable to the economy of the Congo.

LUMUMBA. I will allow my friend to answer that question.

LOLOKI.* I believe that there is no need to raise the question of "single status." If you need a Frenchman in a Belgian company today, is it necessary to give him exactly the same status as a Belgian? Do you put him in the same category? No. So I don't see why you should ask that question.

It will be a "single status" only for Congolese. If a Belgian wants to enter the administration and if Congolese citizenship is required in the administration, for example, the Belgian who does not come under the provisions of "single status" will be given a contract or else may not even be given a job in the administration. So the question of single status does not arise.

* Evariste Loloki became secretary-general for foreign affairs in 1961. (Editor's note.)

Q. We are wondering what fate awaits the base at Kamina after independence.*

A. This is the first business concern we will nationalize in the Congo! [Laughter and applause.]

Q. I raise the question of the marriage bed. There are no children present here. At some time in the future, after you have complete independence, of course — I don't know whether marriage between whites and blacks is permitted in the Congo — am I right in supposing that this will be permitted at some time in the future? Are marriages between whites and blacks permitted in the Congo?

A. I believe that there are no boundaries when it comes to love. [Laughter and applause.]

As the question of the structure of the state was being discussed, a significant incident occurred between the Conakat and Lumumba, who directly attacked the Belgian advisers of the Conakat. From the Round Table session of February 11:

"We have long demanded the independence of our country. This independence has now been won, and will be proclaimed on June 30. We can no longer doubt the sincerity of Belgium's intentions. We thank Belgium and the minister of the Congo.

"On the first of July the Congolese government will enjoy all the prerogatives of sovereignty. We can only regret, however, the well-hidden influences that have been brought to bear on this conference behind the scenes. Were it not for these influences, the work of the conference would already be ended. But this was not possible be-

* The military bases in the Congo gave rise to violent opposition from the Belgian Left, for it was felt that they would merely serve imperialist designs. Moreover, the government was also attempting to amend Article I, Paragraph 4 of the Belgian Constitution, which stipulated that only volunteers could be sent to bases in the Congo. On January 21, 1959, the Council of State approved the project of the minister of national defense presented on August 12, 1958. But in 1959 a press campaign was launched by leftist organizations against the sending of troops to the Congo. It was a success and the government fortunately abandoned its plans for fighting a possible "colonial war."

cause of the machinations of certain European advisers who are serving the interests of financial groups and foreign powers instead of concerning themselves with the problems of the Congo. That is why I demand that all European advisers leave this conference," the speaker said. [*The audience stirs.*]

Mr. Lumumba added that he knows that certain advisers have been paid to sabotage the conference. "As a sign of protest, I am leaving today's meeting with all my delegates," he stated.

Mr. Lumumba made a significant statement on February 15:

The Congolese state will guarantee the safety of every individual's person and property.

We wish our intentions to be a matter of public record: Europeans who have settled among us and are willing to adapt to change in the country will have no cause for concern. We want them to remain and help the future Congolese government build the country. Others who come to settle in the Congo later will find a brotherly people awaiting them.

On the other hand, Europeans who are not willing to adapt to change in the country and bow to the laws of our government will have to go back home.

The period of domination is over. We are beginning that of cooperation and mutual aid between peoples.

The minister of the Congo, speaking in the name of the Belgian government and his compatriots who have settled in the Congo, is asking us for guarantees with regard to Europeans and the capital they have invested in our country. We support the minister's views and are ready and willing to take a clear and definite position on this matter.

We in turn point out to the minister that the situation in the Congo is still a matter of concern. Although the date of the proclamation of independence has been set, certain administration officials

are continuing their policy of harassment and oppression of the people. We receive disquieting complaints about this almost every day, and it is occurring in every part of the country. In the superior interest of the future relations between our two independent countries, those officials who are endangering these relations must leave the Congo immediately.

On February 20, Lumumba addressed the closing session.

THE FINAL DECLARATION AT THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

As we close the Round Table Conference, we take the floor in the name of the Congolese National Movement in order to put our feelings before you.

We are particularly pleased with the results of the negotiations that we have just had with the representatives of the Belgian government and Parliament.

We have demanded the immediate and unconditional independence of our country. We have just obtained it.

We have demanded that this independence be total and genuine. The Belgian government, acceding to our desire, has assured us that Belgium will reserve no power to itself after June 30, 1960. On this date, the Congo will attain its international sovereignty. It is with pride that the Congolese government and the Belgian government will sit side by side in international assemblies where they will defend their common interests.

We have asked that Congolese be closely associated with the government of the country from now until June 30. This wish has been granted through the creation of permanent committees that will work with the minister of the Congo, the governor-general, and the governors of the provinces. From now on, until the proclamation of our independence, the conduct of political and administrative affairs

in the Congo will be jointly assumed by the Congolese and the representatives of Belgium. Henceforth no decisions will be made, either in Belgium or in the Congo, without our approval.

These magnificent results, which were obtained through peaceful and friendly negotiation, are deeply gratifying to us.

Belgium has realized how greatly we value our freedom and our human dignity. She has realized that the Congolese people are not hostile to her, but have simply demanded the abolition of the colonial status that was the disgrace of the twentieth century.

The good will and the good faith of the Belgian representatives at the Round Table Conference were remarkable. We encountered no systematic opposition on the part of Belgian members of Parliament. We are able to say that the direction the Round Table took was more or less determined by the Congolese, for every time that we agreed on one point or another, the delegates of the Belgian government and the Parliament eventually endorsed our views. We are all grateful to them.

We are now going home "with independence in our pockets," proud to be bringing our people the joy of feeling free and independent.

While our brothers in Kenya, Nyasaland, South Africa, and Angola are still struggling to attain their autonomy at this moment, we are attaining the rank of a sovereign state with no transition period whatsoever.

The fact that Belgium has freed the Congo of the colonial regime that we could no longer tolerate has earned her the friendship and the esteem of the Congolese people.

We want this friendship to be long lasting and free of any sort of hypocrisy. We will thus prove to the entire world that the idea of friendship between peoples has genuine meaning.

We will now forget all the errors of the past, all the causes of dissension between us, and look only to this marvelous, smiling future that awaits us.

We beg His Excellency the Prime Minister to communicate our

feelings to His Majesty King Baudouin and assure him of our continuing good will and friendship.

We hope that he will grace the ceremonies proclaiming our independence with his presence.

We thank His Excellency the Minister of the Congo and all the members of the Belgian Parliament for having heard us out.

We also thank His Excellency Minister Lihar, who presided over the Round Table debates with patience and a profound spirit of understanding.

We also pay tribute to that great and eminent jurist, His Excellency Minister Rolin; his personal contribution was invaluable to us throughout the conference.

We also thank Minister Van Hemelrijck on this occasion for having taken the first steps toward the independence of the Congo. We hope that he will be present when the independence of the Congo is proclaimed and that no more tomatoes will be thrown at him.*

The fact that this conference has closed in harmony and has satisfied all the Congolese delegates is a good omen for future relations between the Congo and Belgium. These relations will be established under the seal of friendship and mutual aid between our two countries.

The independence that will be proclaimed in four months is only the first step toward our emancipation. After having won our political freedom following several months of struggle, our efforts must now tend toward

(1) bringing about an atmosphere of confidence and calm throughout the Congo, so that the new institutions can be set up in a spirit of joy and fraternal collaboration;

(2) liquidating all the vestiges of colonialism, in particular the immediate elimination of all traces of racial discrimination and of the unjust laws put into effect during the colonial regime;

* Lumumba is here referring to an attack on the minister of the Congo by the colonists of Kivu.

(3) putting an immediate end to the present oppression of the local populace in certain regions of the Congo;

(4) consolidating national independence through the creation of a stable and prosperous national economy. Our independence will be meaningless if it fails to bring about an improvement of the living conditions of the masses of workers and peasants.

We shall also fight every attempt to divide up our national territory. The political and economic unity of the Congo is essential to its greatness.

We ask the Europeans living in the Congo to remain among us and help the young Congolese state build the country. We need their collaboration. We guarantee the safety of their possessions and their person. We wish to create the Congolese nation with them, so that each and every person will have his share of happiness and satisfaction within that nation.

The doors of the Congo will be wide open to men of good will who are ready and willing to help us. On the other hand, we will not allow into our country people or powers who have imperialist designs. We prefer freedom in poverty to wealth under domination.

The capital invested in the Congo will be respected, for we are an honest people.

We ask the Belgian functionaries working at present in the Congo to serve our government tomorrow as loyally as they have served the Belgian government in the past. They will all be proud to have contributed to a work of national reconstruction in a spirit of humanitarianism.

As a young state, we will need the advice and the technical cooperation of Belgium. We firmly believe and hope that this cooperation will not be refused us.

We address a fraternal appeal to Belgian young people, to democratic young people, to come serve the Congolese state. You will find us to be a brotherly people who need other brothers.

We ask the tribal chieftains to recognize that the country must change and to cooperate with the political leaders in the building of

the country. We have reserved an honorable place for them in future institutions.

We ask Congolese citizens to unite and pool their efforts so as to build a great, united, strong, industrious, and prosperous nation in the heart of Black Africa.

Long live the independent Congo!

Long live Belgium!

Long live the friendship between our two peoples!

After the Round Table Conference the various resolutions began to take concrete shape. On March 8 a law was passed creating executive colleges for the transition period before independence.

On March 14 the governor set up the General Executive College, consisting of Lumumba, Kasavubu, Bolya, Kashamura, Nyangwile, and Mwamba.

On April 3 and 4 Lumumba presided over the Luluabourg Congress (in the capital of Kasai), bringing together the Lulus and ten Kasai organizations. The resolutions passed were unitarist in spirit, and from this moment on Lumumba succeeded in getting all those who were not members of the Kalonji-MNC to join with him.

On April 10 and 11, Lumumba presided over the Congress of Coquilhatville (the capital of Equateur Province), and on May 1 and 2 he participated in the Congress of Inongo (Lake Leopold II). On April 19 he was in Accra again, where he issued the following declaration.

I must here compliment the Belgian government for the spirit of understanding it has displayed on this occasion. Belgium has realized that the Congolese people were not hostile to her, but merely demanded a change of regime and the end of injustice.

This independence will be total, and in three months our country will attain international sovereignty.

I must emphasize that there is no country in Africa that has won its independence more rapidly and more easily than the Congo.

Ghana had to fight ten years to win its independence. Algeria, which has been fighting for more than five years, arms in hand, has not yet won its freedom. The same is true of our brothers in the Cameroons, in Kenya, in Nyasaland, in South Africa, in Rhodesia, in Angola, in Mozambique, and so on. . . .

Having realized that the Congo belongs to the Congolese, Belgium has earned a great deal of good feeling in Africa today.

"Belgians are loyal and courageous," all the Africans whom I have met since coming to Accra have told me. "Wherever we see Belgians, we will welcome them with open arms," they add.

At this moment, tension developed in the Congo as a result of the tribal conflicts between Lulus and Balubas and the widespread unrest in Maniema and the Lower Congo.

European circles were disturbed and asked for military reinforcements to protect them; the Abako demanded a provisional government; Lumumba resigned from the Executive College, demanding that it become a provisional government and that the head of state be elected by direct universal suffrage.

The MNC was expanding rapidly and its "national" character made it a power to be reckoned with in the elections set for May 1960. On May 14 Lumumba reported on his position by telephone to Agence Belga in Brussels.

Despite my entire good will and my desire to collaborate with the administration, it is no longer possible to sanction the government's present policy, which is dangerous and will lead to explosive situations. I have repeatedly given proof of my good will. I have warned the minister and the governor-general, but they have done nothing. I resigned from the General Executive College while it was sitting in Stanleyville, but my resignation has not been accepted. In order to rectify the situation, the MNC demands, first, the expulsion of approximately fifty whites, among them certain

members of the administration, who are stirring up trouble. They are the same whites who hooted and jeered at Mr. Scheyven when he visited Stan. The governor-general says that they were punished, but they should have been expelled. Second, the situation is such that it is not at all certain that there will not be incidents in the Congo before June 30. That is why the MNC is demanding that the General Executive College be immediately transformed into a provisional central government, and the provincial executive colleges be transformed into provisional provincial governments. The MNC has also decided to oppose and reject the Round Table decision calling for the appointment of the chief of state by two Chambers meeting jointly. There has been string pulling behind the scenes for weeks, and we fear that there will be more of this after the elections. We fear that the people will not approve of a chief of state appointed by two Chambers and that the Congo will then experience even more serious troubles than it has to date.

The chief of state must be chosen by the people, and that is why the MNC has recommended that he be elected directly. The administration must find a solution; it should propose, for example, that two ballots be cast, one for the chief of state and one for the legislative elections. We cry out in alarm at this juncture. It is up to Belgium to assume its responsibilities at this point. As for me, I have done absolutely everything in my power to warn the minister and the governor-general. I have been sent on a mission by the Executive College and will remain in Stanleyville, so that from there I may travel wherever my presence is necessary to help avoid possible incidents. I had intended to go to Brussels, having been urgently requested to do so, but this is impossible since the minister and the governor-general refuse to make the necessary decisions. Despite the sabotage of which my party is the victim, I am certain that it will win a large majority in Orientale Province; I will thus be in the country during the elections, which I hope will proceed calmly and normally.

On May 16 the king appointed Ganshof van der Meersch minister and general chargé d'affaires in Africa. Lumumba was suspicious of this appointment, for he thought it was an attempt to pressure the Congolese.

In a statement made to Agence Belga on May 18, Lumumba took a harder line. In addition to his two previous demands, for a provisional government and the election of the chief of state by universal suffrage, he now made a third demand: "The immediate departure of troops sent from the mother country, as well as that of those troops currently occupying the bases at Kitona and Kamina. . . . This is an affront to the Congo Force Publique. It is also an affront to General Janssens. The Force Publique with its thousands of Congolese soldiers and its Belgian officers is more than adequate." Lumumba accused the administration and the judges supervising the elections of having connived with the members of the PNP and rigged the elections. "The principal objective of the Belgian government is to see a puppet government take over, which it will be able to control completely," Lumumba added. At the end of his statement, Lumumba urged his followers to hold public demonstrations and take to the streets to demand the withdrawal of all Belgian troops from the Congo. "The immediate liberation of the country and the immediate transfer of power is the only possible way to avoid the outbreak of serious incidents, for which Belgium will bear the moral responsibility on the international plane."

The agitation accompanying the provincial elections, and later the legislative elections, caused Belgium to take military steps. General Janssens, the head of the Force Publique, considered himself to be the great upholder of law and order and came out with irritating banalities that finally brought a reply from Lumumba. This was the same general who later turned up in Belgium in 1961 and 1962, delivering speeches in favor of the French OAS and participating in the activities of colonialist and extreme Right groups.

On May 25, the Stanleyvillois published this article by Lumumba. It brought about the seizure of the newspaper.

Following General Janssens' statements, Lumumba declared: "I am the one who restored order."

The president of the MNC accused the FP [Force Publique]:

"The FP caused the riots in Leo and Stan, but it is incapable of restoring order in Kasai. . . ."

Following our publication of an interview with General Janssens yesterday, we have received the following declaration from Mr. P. Lumumba.

The responsibility for the statements made in this text naturally lies with its author:

"Contrary to the misleading statements to the press made by General Janssens, the restoration of order in Stanleyville and throughout Orientale Province was due exclusively to the efforts of the MNC and not to the Force Publique.

"It is my presence in Stanleyville and my constant appeals on the radio and at public meetings that are responsible for the improvement in the situation, which has been deteriorating day by day in this province.

"The opinions expressed by General Janssens in his statement have no basis in fact whatsoever. To call those who condemn the brutal and barbarous repressions in the Congo 'reprobate,' to declare that 'decent' people are calling for more police all over the country is to declare oneself guilty in the eyes of Congolese public opinion.

The FP is stirring up trouble. . . .

"According to General Janssens, the Force Publique never commits the slightest misdeed. We would like him to know that it was the Force Publique that caused the disturbances of January 4 in Leopoldville and those of October 30, 1959, in Stanleyville. It was the constables of the Force Publique who provoked these incidents and not the black population. There is clear proof of this, and General Janssens will have considerable difficulty justifying himself.

"When I talked with the general three days ago, I told him that I would be able to restore order in Stanleyville and throughout Ori-

entale Province without a single constable being present and without a single bullet being fired at Congolese.

"But he is incapable of restoring order.

"The Force Publique, moreover, has proved itself incapable of restoring order in Kasai. Despite the military occupation that has lasted several months now, bloody incidents continue to occur in this province.

"What the general calls 'crude blackmail' is nothing but an honest denunciation of the abuses and the brutal acts committed by the Force Publique in many regions of the Congo: unjustified punitive expeditions, followed by massacres, arrests, and arbitrary sentences — this is the end result of the combined action of the Force Publique and the administration. The Congo has lived amid constant unrest and terror for more than a year now. General Janssens' arms will not change this situation in the slightest unless power is immediately transferred into the hands of Congolese nationals.

"If, as General Janssens puts it, 'the Force Publique will not give in to blackmail,' we hereby inform him that the Congolese people, who have a passionate desire to be free, will likewise not give in to the intimidation and the threats of the Force Publique."

The tension caused by the coming elections continued to mount, but Lumumba's withdrawal from the General Executive College severely compromised the possibilities of taking steps to lessen this tension. Jean van Lierde asked him to go back to Leopoldville and continue to serve in the Executive College at this crucial moment. Lumumba replied immediately.

LETTER TO JEAN VAN LIERDE

Stanleyville, May 27, 1960

My dear Jean,

I have just received your airmail letter of May 25.

I am continuing the struggle to wipe out colonialism totally. I am making life very difficult for the fascists, especially General Janssens.

I have the backing of the people. I hope to win an overwhelming victory throughout Orientale Province and in many regions of the Congo. We are being sabotaged, but I am holding my own.

I am planning to go back to Leo soon to take up my duties once again.

I will use whatever influence I have so that you may come to the independence celebration. Please remind me in time.*

Yours most cordially,
PATRICE

THE MNC TAKES A STAND (MAY 31, 1960)

Having won an overwhelming victory in both the legislative elections and the provincial elections throughout Orientale Province, with a majority of 99.5 percent, the MNC will soon form a homogeneous government based on sound democratic principles. The victory that the MNC has won is a proof of the confidence our party enjoys among the tribal authorities and the popular masses. This victory is also a clear refutation of the spiteful accusations and slander directed against the MNC and its leaders by its adversaries. The MNC warmly thanks the tribal chieftains and all classes of the populace for thus demonstrating their trust in us. The members of the MNC who have been elected will do their utmost not to disappoint those who voted for them. The MNC government will call on all qualified individuals, whatever their political affiliations, to assume posts of responsibility. Members of the MNC who have been elected to public office will not serve the party, but the entire nation. The MNC government will guarantee all citizens, both Europeans and Congolese, that their property and their persons

* Lumumba offered to intervene on Jean van Lierde's behalf because the latter had for a long time been forbidden to visit the Congo. (Editor's note.)

will be protected. Its policy is based on the establishment of sincere friendship between tribes and races.

In order to thwart the maneuvers against the MNC, Lumumba brought various groups together in a homogeneous nationalist bloc. A protocol was signed on June 10.

PROTOCOL OF THE LUMUMBA COALITION

Confronted with the web of intrigue being woven today by the former colonial power on the one hand and by the pro-colonialist minority parties on the other — intrigues aimed at keeping out of power the parties and the nationalist leaders who unquestionably enjoy the confidence of all the people;

In view of the fact that the liberation of the Congo is the exclusive handiwork of the nationalist parties and that the future welfare of the Congolese people now depends on the regrouping of these nationalist and democratic forces within the country;

In view of the fact that this regrouping of popular forces is indispensable if the maneuvers of imperialists aimed at the establishment of a neocolonialist puppet government are to be thwarted;

In view of the fact that the election returns clearly show that the people have voted for the nationalist parties and that the latter would be committing a crime if they did not join forces in a great alliance;

For the purpose of blocking all the maneuvers to divide the country and at the same time ensure final victory over Belgian colonialism, the Congolese National Movement (MNC), the African Solidarity Party (PSA), the Center of African Regroupment (Cé-réa), and the Balubakat have decided

(1) to join together in order to form a central anticolonialist government;

(2) to conclude a pact of friendship and solidarity capable of safeguarding the political and economic unity of the country;

(3) to combat all separatism and maneuvers to divide the country, which are liable to bring about the splitting of the Congo into small states and cause social unrest in the country;

(4) to defend a common policy within the framework of national institutions, both on the level of general policy and on the economic and social plane.

Any other party that respects the provisions of the present protocol may also join the national alliance thus formed.

The assignment of posts in the Central Government to be formed, proportional to the votes obtained by each party, is outlined in the table annexed to the present protocol.

The parties signing this protocol formally pledge to scrupulously respect the clauses thus approved.

Leopoldville, June 10, 1960.

For the African Solidarity
Party
A. GIZENGA

For the Congolese National
Movement
P. LUMUMBA

For the Balubakat
R. MWAMBA

For the Center of African
Regroupment
A. KASHAMURA

The following day, June 11, the Lumumba-MNC Committee took up the subject of the Belgian maneuvers against the nationalist parties again, but declared that it was ready to form a national unity government. June 13 was a decisive date, for the minister asked Lumumba to go on a fact-finding mission in order to set up the first Congolese government. Ganshof van der Meersch was immediately attacked by a horde of rightists for having made this decision.

LUMUMBA IN SEARCH OF A FORMULA FOR UNITING THE PARTIES

The minister offered to send me on a fact-finding mission, for the purpose of forming a Congolese government. I accepted. The success of this mission obviously depends on what contacts I am going to be able to make with all the parties. I am able at present, however, to tell you that I already possess the political majority necessary to form a legal government, thanks to the majority representation my party has in Parliament. I am going to make every effort now to increase this majority as much as possible, with the view of forming a national unity government. This is in line, moreover, with the MNC's policy of national unity, and I do not intend to exclude any of the representatives of opinions that earned popular support in the elections from any of the consultations I will be holding. I am certain that a great many of the feelings of apprehension that people have toward me will disappear, thanks to the contacts I shall have with various party leaders. People must realize that I will not use my majority to keep anybody on the sidelines. The policy of my party can be described in very few words: general harmony, order, security, and confidence. I therefore call on all Europeans to remain in the country. Their property and their persons will be respected. We want to celebrate the independence of the Congo with them, in joy and mutual good will. We will conclude a pact of friendship with Belgium. It will be a constructive pact, concluded in complete freedom and dignity on both sides. We will arrive at sincere agreements that are of benefit to both parties.

Curiously enough, it was the Conakat that was the first among the federalist parties to consider entering the Central Government. On June 14 Moïse Tshombé sent a telegram to Lumumba:

WILLING TO PARTICIPATE FORMATION CENTRAL GOVERNMENT STOP
CONDITIONS SINE QUA NON FIRST RESERVE MINISTRY ECONOMIC AF-

FAIRS SINCE CONGO ECONOMY OBVIOUSLY DEPENDS CONTRIBUTION KATANGA STOP SECOND MINISTRY NATIONAL DEFENSE STOP KATANGESE DELEGATES WILL ARRIVE AFTER FORMATION PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT
MOÏSE TSHOMBÉ PRESIDENT-GENERAL CONAKAT

Lumumba replied the next day, June 15:

HAVE CONSULTED OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES CONCERNING YOUR WISHES
STOP THEY AGREE TO GIVE CONAKAT MINISTRY ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND
VICE-PRESIDENCY CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES STOP BEG YOU TO CONSIDER
POSITIONS OTHER PARTIES AND ACCEPT THIS COMPROMISE STOP WITHOUT
MUTUAL CONCESSIONS AMONG PARTIES DIFFICULT TO FORM NATIONAL
UNITY GOVERNMENT SAFEGUARDING FUTURE COUNTRY STOP
RELY GREAT DEAL ON YOUR UNDERSTANDING TO GET CONGO OUT OF
PRESENT IMPASSE STOP WE WILL BE CRITICIZED TOMORROW IF WE DO
NOT MANAGE TO UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER TODAY STOP PLEASE REPLY
TELEGRAM POSTHASTE FOR MUST SUBMIT REPORT TONIGHT MINISTER
STOP LUMUMBA

Lumumba's press conference was published in Indépendance, June 15, 1960.

I returned to Leopoldville yesterday after an absence of thirty days. My colleagues of the General Executive College and I toured every province of the Congo.

During our travels and the conversations we had with people from all walks of life, both European and Congolese, I was aware that there was an atmosphere of unrest and insecurity throughout the country.

This atmosphere, which I deplore with all my heart, is due to two factors:

1. Certain political militants who were very unsure of themselves had no electoral program other than attacking certain individuals

personally. Independence for them meant the onset of intertribal conflicts, attacks by bands of terrorists, and fratricidal wars. The mass killings in Kasai and Leopoldville, organized by specific individuals whom the administration is trying to cover up for because of important political reasons, offer us irrefutable proof.

2. The administration, being very unhappy that all signs pointed to the success of the nationalists, staged a well-planned undercover campaign on behalf of certain persons they favored. This campaign was waged in the most influential Belgian circles. The objective being pursued was this: the nationalists, who had the confidence of the people, were to be kept out of power, and certain puppets were to take over, for the sole purpose of serving some hidden interests.

Since they were convinced that official circles wanted to install a puppet government in the Congo at any cost, in order to undermine national independence, the Congolese people reacted forcefully and are continuing to do so.

This is a battle between the forces of liberation represented by the nationalist parties, on the one hand, and the forces of domination represented by the colonialist administration, on the other hand.

It is these maneuvers behind the scenes that are the cause of the present unrest.

Although the elections were very badly organized, they have just shown the true face of the Congo: all the people are behind the MNC. We are more and more successful with each passing day. The MNC won wherever it put up candidates. And if we were not represented in certain very definite areas, it is because we did not have time to organize and wage a vigorous election campaign.

In addition to the votes we won in the election, we also enjoy the support of millions of Congolese who have given us a mandate.

In accordance with democratic principles, it is the MNC — the party which won more votes than any other in the elections — that should form the government. The king of the Belgians should call upon the MNC to form the government. As in all other countries

in the world, the MNC should have the right to call on minority parties to consolidate its majority.

Nowhere in the world is the leader of a minority party called upon to form the government or asked to be the chief of state.

But what is happening today?

The Belgian government and the royal palace are absolutely determined to keep the MNC out of power. They are now urging minority groups to form a coalition on artificial bases, so as to appoint a puppet government, which I swear the people will reject tomorrow if these maneuvers behind the scenes succeed.

Even though Belgium publicly came out in favor of the independence of the Congo, its intention nonetheless was to set up a government that would be under its thumb. I have found out that the governor-general, the minister of the Congo, and all Belgian official circles are playing a dangerous game: they already have "their" candidates for the office of chief of state and prime minister. Trial balloons have already been launched in the press, thanks to the complicity of certain journalists. But the people whom they are working for represent no one but themselves or small isolated groups.

It was to obtain this objective that the Belgian government is forcing a bicameral system and the election of the chief of state by the Chambers on us.

If the Round Table Conference approved the proposals of the Belgian government, it was because the colonial administration sent people to this conference who did not represent the people at all, for the sole purpose of supporting the government's views. Almost every one of the delegates of the PNP, who were in the majority at the conference, have been rejected by the people: none of the principal leaders of this government party won in the elections.

Nowhere in the world has the former power organized and supervised the elections symbolizing a country's attainment of its independence. There is no precedent for this in Africa.

When Belgium won its independence in 1830, it was the Belgians themselves who first set up a provisional government. It was this

provisional government that prepared the democratic election of a representative government. It was not the Dutch, the former masters, who organized the elections after the liberation of Belgium.

The government of Belgium is doing everything in its power to cause serious trouble in the Congo tomorrow.

We want peace in the Congo and we want the Europeans who have settled here to continue to live among us. We favor friendship between peoples. We want only the abolition of the colonialist regime. The Congo needs Europeans, and foreign capital and technicians. We will turn no one from our doors.

No European will be persecuted in the Congo. No one will have his possessions seized. The independence of the Congo will benefit all its inhabitants, black and white. If we understand each other, if we forget our grievances and erase the errors of the past, we will be able to build a great nation in this country, a nation within whose borders injustice, hatred, and disorder will be forever banished. We are certain we will have the support of all the friends of freedom and all the friends of Africa to aid us in building our country. We are certain that we will find friends everywhere.

We ask all those who are our brothers to put an end to current rivalries and dissension. The hour of union has come, for the greater good of our people.

To fail to denounce the current maneuvers of the Belgian government would be to commit a crime against the country. We have never spoken with a forked tongue. We are not seeking popularity in Belgian circles.

If the future of the Congo is to be safeguarded, the game that is being played at present must be abandoned.

In the name of the millions of Congolese whom my party represents today, I call for

(1) the immediate withdrawal of the Belgian troops recently sent to the Congo. These troops sow panic among the Congolese. These troops are here only to intimidate our people, who seek only to enjoy their *Freedom*;

(2) the immediate recall of Minister Ganshof van der Meersch. There is no reason for him to be in the Congo;

(3) the election of the chief of state by direct universal suffrage;

(4) the formation of the government by the party that won out over the other parties by a majority in the elections;

(5) the creation of a new national flag. We reject the flag approved by the General Executive College, for it was designed by colonialists.

We are still Belgium's friends. But Belgium must not disappoint our people. We want a genuinely representative, democratically elected government.

From June 13 to 16 Lumumba had marshaled a large majority for his government, but Minister Ganshof, who was impressed by the obviously large number of his opponents and was being subjected to enormous pressure from the colonialists, decided to put an end to Lumumba's mission . . . and called on Joseph Kasavubu to form a government!

The political temperature rose in Leopoldville, and the MNC violently attacked the minister.

LUMUMBA'S REACTION TO THE KASAVUBU MISSION

(JUNE 17, 1960)

Unfortunately, the cards were stacked against me from the very beginning. The proof of this is that despite the firm majority of eighty-four seats in the Chamber that I had acquired in the course of my consultations, the minister, on being informed of this fact, not only virtually made his mind up not to take either this majority or any other into consideration, but also called me into his office an hour before the time set for our meeting to tell me, purely and simply, that inasmuch as I had not managed in his opinion to achieve the national unity that had been envisaged, he found it his regrettable duty to put an end to my fact-finding mission. A short

while later — I have just now received it — I was handed a communiqué from Mr. Ganshof's office informing me that Mr. Kasavubu had been given a mission in my place — that of forming a government. I merely ask you to look at the figures: Mr. Kasavubu's party has twelve seats in the Chamber and my party has forty-two. It is quite evident that the cards were stacked. Lumumba was given a fact-finding mission to save face. It was decided in advance that whatever results he might obtain, he would never be asked to form a government. Even though the fact that Kasavubu's party holds a very small number of seats makes any national unity government other than the one I attempted to form impossible, it was he who was chosen in Brussels, when the leader of the Abako went there to invite the king to attend the independence celebration; and I do not hesitate to say that it was the palace in Brussels rather than the resident minister, who was merely acting on instructions, that pushed me aside when success was in sight, because it did not want me to succeed.

POSITIONS OF THE LUMUMBA COALITION

(JUNE 20, 1960)

"In his last press conference, Mr. Kasavubu stated that my party and the PSA were in agreement with him regarding the government that the leader of the Abako planned to form," Mr. Kashamura said. "It is true that I was received by Mr. Kasavubu, only to see him reject the demands I was making in the name of all the provincial leaders elected in Kivu and of my party, the Céréa. We asked for three portfolios: National Defense, Information, and a State Secretariat.* We were granted only the post of Public Works. I refused the participation of my party. That is the truth of the matter."

* Mr. Kashamura apparently would have agreed to participate in Mr. Kasavubu's government if the latter had given him the post of minister of information. (Editor's note.)

"I protest Mr. Kasavubu's abuse of the name of the PSA when he lists it as one of the parties supporting him," Mr. Gizenga added. "At his request, I had sent Mr. Mulele, the vice-president of the party, to him to make contact and merely get information. To my astonishment, Mr. Kasavubu did not receive Mr. Mulele and chose to see three spokesmen from my party whom I had not sent to him: Messrs. Kamitatu, Kimvay, and Mangobo, whose reports I am still awaiting. It is thus incorrect to state that the PSA, of which I am president, agreed to participate in Mr. Kasavubu's government."

Mr. Lumumba for his part declared:

"We consider his government, if he manages to form it, a puppet government even before the fact, for it will be the result of the hidden complicity of the Belgian government and will be directed against the nationalist parties of the Congo, and above all against my party. We obviously cannot trust such a government since every democratic and constitutional rule has been disregarded by naming to form it not the leader of the party that has proved to be numerically the most important in the recent elections, but the leader of a minority party who will have to have the support of a certain number of parties of different sizes even to barely succeed. What would people say if this were done in Belgium? I repeat: the Belgian government is deliberately attempting to create dissension and an explosive situation in the Congo. We will see what tomorrow will bring."

That evening another meeting took place between Kasavubu and the leader of the MNC. They were unable to reach an agreement. Lumumba gave the following report of the meeting to Agence Belga.

LUMUMBA'S VERSION OF HIS TALKS WITH KASAVUBU (JUNE 21, 1960)

"I have met with Mr. Kasavubu again because I feel it my responsibility to see that the government that the Congo so desperately needs is formed as soon as possible and because I refuse no opportunity to engage in an act of good will. I was encouraged to do so by the meeting that the leaders of the parties allied with mine and I had that very morning with the minister, Mr. Ganshof van der Meersch, who told me that it was absolutely necessary that Mr. Kasavubu and I reach an understanding. This is all I ask, in the national interest," Mr. Lumumba said.

"After quickly examining the situation together, our allies and I suggested to Mr. Ganshof van der Meersch that when Mr. Kasavubu and I met, we should agree that he would become chief of state and I would become prime minister, it being understood that when I formed my government team I would give as much consideration as possible to the desires of Mr. Kasavubu and his allies. At the end of the meeting the minister said: 'Your proposals seem reasonable. I am going to pass them on to Mr. Kasavubu with my endorsement.' I had every reason to believe that my meeting with Mr. Kasavubu last Monday evening would reflect these intentions and permit the leader of the Abako and me to reach an agreement. I must tell you that I was unfortunately most disappointed. Mr. Kasavubu merely confirmed that he was asking for the post of chief of state and would yield the post of prime minister to me, in exchange for our future collaboration, but that my forming the ministerial team myself was out of the question," Mr. Lumumba stated. "Mr. Kasavubu himself had a government team that he and his allies had put together. I would have to accept it. This was impossible. It is difficult to envision a prime minister working in confidence with a team that he has not chosen himself and that may even include most of his adversaries. Mr. Kasavubu told me that he had made

agreements to this effect with the allies of the National Unity Coalition. I could have said the same," Mr. Lumumba added, stressing the fact that the results of Monday evening's meeting were entirely negative. "Mr. Kasavubu spoke to me of the possibility of seeing him again at the same time Tuesday evening. But I wonder if there would be any use at all in another meeting between us, given the present circumstances," Mr. Lumumba said.

"In the face of this situation, it is not so much Mr. Kasavubu whom I accuse as it is Minister Ganshof, who in my opinion is still playing the double-dealing game of the Belgian government, which regards me as dangerous and does not want me to form a government with men I have chosen myself," the leader of the MNC added. "Doubtless Brussels would rather see the Congo without a government on the thirtieth of June than have a Lumumba government," he stated.

"Given these circumstances, there will probably not be a chief of state on June 30 either," the leader of the MNC also stated. "For my group and its allies are naturally not going to vote for his taking office if this does not meet with their approval. There will thus not be the necessary quorum. I have a clear conscience, for we have done everything possible to bring about a solution through national unity," Mr. Lumumba concluded. "It is now up to the Belgian government to assume its responsibilities."

Tuesday, June 21, was a decisive test of the opposing forces' relative strength. Joseph Kasavubu, as we have seen, had been unable to form a majority with the National Unity Coalition (anti-MNC), but only a definite vote of the Chambers, even on a secondary question, could show the real relative strength of the various factions. On June 21 the Chamber was to elect its parliamentary officers, and the Nationalist Bloc, all of whose candidates were elected thanks to the Lumumba-MNC-UNC-Coaka-Reko-Céréa-Balubakat-PSA-Unimo coalition, was clearly the victor.*

* We remind the reader that the PSA was led by Antoine Gizenga and Cléo-

Minister Ganshof immediately canceled Mr. Kasavubu's mission to form a government, and this time appointed Lumumba to do so.

LUMUMBA'S PROPOSAL TO KASAVUBU

(JUNE 22, 1960)

Pursuant to our talk yesterday, in the course of which I informed you of my ardent desire to see you participate in the government I have been called on to form, I immediately contacted the leaders of the parties that have agreed to collaborate with the MNC in the formation of this government.

All the allied parties have decided to take the importance of the Abako into account and thus grant it one of the most important posts in our government, i.e., that of Foreign Affairs. It was also decided, furthermore, to grant the Abako the Ministries of Middle Classes and of Rural Development.

In addition to these two ministries, there are also diplomatic posts and seats in para-state bodies yet to be assigned.

All the parties ardently wish to see you assume the functions of minister of foreign affairs in the first government team.

As for the election of the chief of state, that will depend above all on the unanimous support of all the elected representatives, and we shall not fail to speak to them on your behalf.

As I must submit my report about 7:00 P.M. this evening, may I ask you please to give me your definite reply and the names of those who will have each of the portfolios allotted your party before this time.

As I await the pleasure of hearing from you, please be assured, Dear Colleague, of my most cordial sentiments.

P. LUMUMBA

Member of the General Executive College

phas Kamitatu, the Unimo by Justin Bomboko, and the Balubakat by Jason Sendwe, Moïse Tshombe's rival in Katanga. (Editor's note.)

KASAVUBU'S REPLY TO LUMUMBA (JUNE 22, 1960)

I have the honor of informing you that the Abako cannot participate in this government if it does not have the posts of Domestic Affairs, Finance, and one Minister of State portfolio, as we agreed yesterday evening, in addition to a fair share of para-state and diplomatic posts.

With regard to the office of chief of state, I cannot grant your government my confidence as long as no guarantees have been given.

The Bakongos, moreover, are determined to form an autonomous, sovereign seventh province in a united Congo confederation.

Since your party has been the sole master of the Chamber, might the senate not be handed over to another party? This would enable you to establish a balance between your Chambers. Otherwise you will run the risk of making your decisions unilaterally and compromising the interests of the minority.

Please accept, Dear Colleague, the assurance of my most respectful consideration.

J. KASAVUBU

These continuous negotiations were a clear proof of the failure of the plans of the anti-Lumumba coalition. By the morning of June 22, the MNC leader had worked out his plans for forming a government, but the election of the officers of the Senate in the afternoon was extremely important, for by the terms of the Fundamental Law of May 19, 1960, the senator elected president of that chamber was to become the temporary chief of state if within eight days no candidate had obtained two thirds of the vote of the two Chambers meeting jointly.*

* The Fundamental Law, established at the Round Table Conference in Brussels, was to be the basic law of the land until the new nation drew up its own constitution. (Translator's note.)

On the first ballot, the votes were equally divided between two candidates: Joseph Iléo (of the Kalonji-MNC) and A. Mahamba (of the Lumumba-MNC). Eventually Joseph Iléo won by a vote of 41-39, but all the other Senate officers were won by the Lumumbist bloc.

On Thursday morning, June 23, Lumumba declared to the press:

My ministerial team is now practically formed.

In a spirit of reconciliation and mutual understanding, I have made concrete proposals to the principal leaders of the National Unity Coalition, and the various groups have examined them. Last night the Conakat and the PNP accorded me their agreement in principle. The Abako and the Puna likewise expressed their desire to collaborate with me, but they had not yet examined my proposals.

As regards the Abako, the problem that arises is that of allotting this party a definite portfolio and Mr. Kasavubu's candidacy for the office of chief of state. Mr. Bolikango of the Puna has also presented himself as a candidate for the office of chief of state. I informed these leaders that it was up to the Congolese Assemblies to designate the chief of state and that the thing that mattered most to me was the formation of a stable Congolese government as soon as possible. I am to see Mr. Kasavubu and Mr. Bolikango again this morning. . . .

At 2:50 P.M., on June 23, Lumumba came out in support of Bolikango's candidacy.

I have had numerous contacts with Mr. Kasavubu. I have offered his party two ministries, Foreign Affairs and Middle Classes. He wanted Finance, a State Secretariat in the Ministry of the Interior, and one Minister of State portfolio. Mr. Kasavubu laid down one other condition. He demanded a written pledge from all the political parties that they would vote for him for chief of state. The

other parties did not accept this obligation. He had also said in his letter that the province [of Bakongo] would be autonomous and sovereign. All our efforts have failed. He presented himself as a candidate for the office of chief of state. I would like to express my sincerest thanks to the other parties for their efforts and the spirit in which they were made. Mr. Bolikango has presented himself as a candidate for the office of chief of state. I personally support him,* and I believe that the others will too.

The government team has now been formed. It will present itself before the Chambers at 10:00 P.M. for a vote of confidence. This is a democratic government, a national unity government. All Africans and Europeans will be safe. I am counting on the efforts of all, including Belgium and the Belgians, to carry out the task that awaits us.

This same day, about 4:00 P.M., Kasavubu contacted Lumumba again and finally offered him the list of Abako ministers. This news instantly relieved the minds of people in the capital, who had feared that there would be a Bakongo uprising if their leader were not included in the government. Lumumba could now ask the Chamber for a vote of confidence, and he went before it at 10:00 P.M. The proclamation of independence was now just seven days away. He eventually obtained a vote of confidence, after a confused round of balloting and a debate whose tone was scarcely worthy of the seriousness of the events taking place. His confirmation as prime minister the next day was rapid and spectacular (60 votes for, 12 against, and 8 abstentions).

* A text signed by Lumumba, announcing that Bolikango's candidacy for the office of chief of state had his support, had circulated in Leopoldville. But Lumumba did not demand party discipline in this instance. It was obvious that the MNC could not vote for Bolikango at this point. (Editor's note.)

SPEECH OF THE PRIME MINISTER BEFORE THE CHAMBER

Mr. President, Dear Colleagues, Ladies, Gentlemen:

The crisis that threatened to endanger the future of our young nation has fortunately been resolved, thanks to the Congolese wisdom that all the elected representatives have shown in the face of the danger that confronted us.

You have been the first to demonstrate to everyone that it is our duty to bring about union and solidarity.

We have the honor of presenting the first Congolese government to the Parliament of the Congo. It is composed of the following members:

1. Prime Minister and Minister of National Defense: Lumumba, Patrice.
2. Vice-Prime Minister: Gizenga, Antoine.
3. Minister of Foreign Affairs: Bomboko, Justin.
4. Minister of Foreign Trade: Bisukiro, Marcel.
5. Resident Minister in Belgium (in charge of relations between the Congo and Belgium): Delvaux, Albert.
6. Minister-Delegate to the United Nations: Kanza, Thomas.
7. Minister of Justice: Mwamba, Rémy.
8. Minister of the Interior: Gbenye, Christophe.
9. Minister of Finance: Nkayi, Pascal.
10. Minister of Economic Affairs: Yav, Joseph.*
11. Minister of Economic Coordination and Planning: Kabangi, Aloïs.
12. Minister of Public Works: Ilunga, Alphonse.
13. Minister of Communications: Songolo, Alphonse.
14. Minister of Agriculture: Lutula, Joseph.
15. Minister of Labor: Masena, Joachim.

* A Conakat minister. (Editor's note.)

16. Minister of Middle Classes: M'Buyi, Joseph.
17. Minister of Public Health: Kamanga, Grégoire.
18. Minister of Mines: Rudahindwa, Edmond.
19. Minister of Property: Mahamba, Alexandre.
20. Minister of Social Affairs: Ngwenza, Antoine.
21. Minister of National Education and Fine Arts: Mulele, Pierre.
22. Minister of Information and Cultural Affairs: Kashamura, Anicet.
23. Minister of Youth and Sports: Mpolo, Maurice.

State Secretariats:

1. State Secretaries for the President's Office: Mobutu, Joseph, and Lumbala, Jacques.
2. State Secretary for Foreign Affairs: Mandi, André.
3. State Secretary for Foreign Trade: Kiwewa, Antoine.
4. State Secretary for Finance: Tshibangu, André.
5. State Secretary for Justice: Liongo, Maximilien.
6. State Secretary for the Interior: Batshikama, Raphaël.
7. State Secretary for Economic Coordination and Planning: Nguvulu, Alphonse.
8. State Secretary for National Defense: Nyembo, Albert.
9. State Secretary for Information and Cultural Affairs: Bolamba, Antoine.

Ministers of State:

1. Minister of State, Member of the Council of Ministers: Grenfell, Georges.
2. Minister of State, Member of the Council of Ministers: Kisolokele, Charles.
3. Minister of State, Member of the Council of Ministers: Bolya, Paul.
4. Minister of State, Member of the Council of Ministers: Genge, André.

The following commissioners have been proposed:

Leopoldville Province: Kama, Sylvain.

Equateur Province: Fumu, Tamusu.

Kasai Province: Kalonji, Isaac.

Katanga Province: Sendwe, Jason.

Kivu Province: Sangara, Hubert.

Orientale Province: Muzungu, Christophe.

Gentlemen:

At this historic moment, I should like to recall the long and painful struggle that all the Congolese, united in their passionate desire for liberation, waged until victory was theirs.

We found we were unanimous and stood shoulder to shoulder in our opposition to a political regime that at certain times ignored the direction history was taking.

We found we were unanimous as we fought our first battles against colonialism.

We found we were unanimous as we mourned our dead brothers.

We found we were unanimous at the Round Table, united in a Common Front.

Today, in victory, in triumph, we are still united and unanimous: our entire nation rejoices at this.

Gentlemen:

The government that you are about to vote on is an honest, loyal, strong, popular government, which represents the entire nation, having been chosen by you to serve the interests of our homeland. All the members of my team and I formally pledge that this government will remain a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Strengthened by this popular support, the government will endeavor to keep the nation's territory and its unity intact and protect it from attack from any quarter.

The vastness of the territory and its great diversity make certain

steps necessary, however. The government views this situation realistically.

We must be able to modify the administrative divisions of the old regime by legal means so that each citizen may find happiness among his fellows.

This government will endeavor to establish the rule of law and order everywhere in the country, without hesitating; but as it goes about this task, it will always respect the inalienable rights of man and the citizen as a sacred good.

This government will consider its first duty to be that of leading the popular masses along the path to social justice, well-being, and progress, carefully avoiding adventures that might lead to catastrophes that we wish to spare our people.

We want nothing to do with new forms of dictatorship.

This government will endeavor to maintain friendly relations with all foreign countries, but it will not succumb to the temptation of joining one or another of the blocs that have now divided the world between them, as it might so easily do; it will also not hesitate to espouse a noble and just cause on the international plane, and in Africa in particular.

Gentlemen:

In the name of the government of the Congo, in the name of the Congolese people, and also in the certainty that I am speaking for all the members of this parliament, I now address our Belgian friends in particular, and have this to say to them:

In the last three quarters of a century, you have created an enormous handiwork in this country; it was not always immune to criticism, certainly; but now that the outrages perpetrated during the elections are at an end, we must recognize that it constitutes the unshakable foundation on which we are going to build our nation together.

The first missionaries, who were later joined by lay teachers, brought education to every corner of the country under difficult

conditions; without this education what is happening today would not have been possible.

For three quarters of a century the colonials, the industrialists, the various companies have endeavored to develop the country.

We are soon going to build the great Congolese nation with them.

We will need the help of Belgians and of all men of good will more than ever; we will do our utmost to ensure that the cooperation that will begin tomorrow will be of benefit to all.

The religious missions will be assured of being able to continue their apostolate, thanks to the freedom of opinion and the religious freedom that our constitution will guarantee.

The members of the former colonial administration have now turned their powers of government over to the Congolese, but their counsel and their experience will remain the surest guarantee of sound government.

Lastly, you will understand why I wish to conclude my remarks with an expression of the overwhelming emotion I feel. The members of the first government of the Congo are faced with a grave task, and they are well aware of how complex it is.

We are face to face with an immense country, with extraordinary potentialities. We have at our side a young, resolute, intelligent people capable of being the equal of other nations.

We are privileged to be beginning our national life at the same time as other countries in Africa; this huge continent is awakening and looking toward a better future.

The Congolese people will fulfill its destiny through unity and solidarity.

Gentlemen:

Whether or not this destiny is a happy one and one truly worthy of our people will depend on each one of us, on our work each day of our lives.

I am proud to see the Congo, our homeland, take its place in the ranks of free peoples.

May I ask you, dear brothers, on this solemn day on which the Congo is achieving its total independence, on which a democratic government is taking over, on which justice is being established, on which each of us will henceforth enjoy total personal freedom, on which the sun has suddenly come out in this country to dissipate the long darkness of the colonial regime, to raise your voices with me:

Long live the independent Congo!

Long live the united Congo!

Long live freedom!

On June 24, Kasavubu was elected chief of state by an overwhelming majority and with the unanimous support of the Lumumbist Nationalist Bloc. The Belgians declared that on the whole they were satisfied with the results, but Tshombe attacked the Lumumba government the same evening, the twenty-fourth, even though there were members of the Conakat in the government.

On June 29, a treaty of friendship was signed by the Belgian and Congolese governments, and Patrice Lumumba addressed the Belgian people over the INR radio network.

If I address the Belgian people today in the name of the Congolese nation and the first government formed by this nation, it is to speak as one speaks to a friendly people, and to tell those of you who are listening to me what the independent Congo is really like, and thus also dispel the anxieties that may have arisen in your hearts because of the swift march of events during the last few months. For most of you, the Congo is a faraway country, which you doubtless will have no reason to visit at any time in your life. I would like somehow to manage to make you understand it and love it. For the independent Congo is a new and enthusiastic country, a

country where everyone has willingly agreed to work with the perseverance and the faith that move mountains. I wish you were here today with me to experience this atmosphere of extraordinary idealism that we are living in today, to feel our intense fervor, to appreciate our unanimous determination to make the Congo a great and prosperous country: a country capable of occupying the very important place in Africa and in the world that rightfully belongs to it. The colonial regime is now ended. As I am proud to remind you, we fought the despotism and the humiliation it represented with all the strength at our command. But our victory was not a defeat for Belgium. On the contrary, I am deeply convinced that our struggle served more than a little to remind the Belgians themselves that, as a people who cherished freedom, it would be necessary for Belgium to put an end to a completely unjustifiable regime if it were to be worthy of its past.

Belgium has emerged from the last few months we have lived through with even more prestige in the eyes of the world than before, since it has put an end to a regime that our people could no longer tolerate. This is a happy ending to a vast enterprise which had its noble and generous side, which we here wish to pay tribute to, even though we fought with all our might — for that very reason — against the many odious features it eventually came to have. For even if we were to try to forget what the Belgians accomplished on our soil, the airfields and the roads, the bridges and the ports, the hospitals and the schools would be there to remind us, as would those men whose long years of education have imbued them with the industriousness so characteristic of the Belgian people, men who are today able to govern their own destinies thanks to this very willingness to labor long and hard.

Though I do not hesitate to speak in the name of the Congolese people of the gratitude my country feels toward yours, I also want to ask you Belgians not to be suspicious and mistrustful of the Congolese. I wish you could know how sad it makes me to see your compatriots who live in the Congo frantically repatriating their women,

their children, their most precious possessions. You have seen dozens, hundreds of us Congolese as we traveled all over Belgium during these last few months — can you believe for an instant that we are savages out to rape and pillage? With all the honesty of a head of government, and with all the honesty of a family man and the father of several children, I assure you: order will be maintained in the country and we will absolutely guarantee that both persons and possessions will be safe from harm. The Congolese nation has refused to be dominated indefinitely by Belgium, but the independent Congo considers Belgium to be a sister nation, to whom we say: "We need you, just as you need us. We hope that the friendship between our two peoples, who are now equals, will take the concrete form of fruitful economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation." And I hereby address an urgent appeal to young Belgian teachers and technicians who want to come to the Congo to help us loyally in our task; their devotion and their idealism will find their just reward. You young Belgians who are listening to me: there are still many bridges to build, roads to open, schools to construct. There are also hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children who are waiting for you to help them live a better life, to climb higher on the ladder of human values. Are you going to turn a deaf ear to them? I also call upon investors; I have said to them: help us develop the immense hidden resources of our great country; we cannot leave them unexploited. In the independent Congo your mines, your building projects, your factories will find their just reward for the wealth they bring our country, for let there be no mistake about the policy we are planning to follow: we will fight against undeserved privileges, but we will also protect those investments that genuinely contribute to increasing our national revenue. The Congo has wanted to be independent, but this does not mean that it wants to be isolated from the rest of the world. To all those who are willing to collaborate loyally with it, the Congo extends the hand of friendship. And it is my profound and sincere desire, as it is that of my government and of the entire Congolese nation,

that Belgium be the first to take this hand held out to her and thus seal an indissoluble pact of brotherhood between you and us.

There then followed the unforgettable day of June 30, 1960, with its ceremonies celebrating the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of the Congo.

The Palace of the Nation, facing the river with a view of Brazzaville on the other shore, was a marvel. A huge crowd of diplomats and journalists gathered inside the Chamber of Deputies with the members of the Congolese Parliament. King Baudouin, who had arrived the evening before, delivered a speech whose paternalistic tone irritated the nationalists. President Kasavubu, however, gave a diplomatic speech in reply.

Then suddenly Prime Minister Lumumba seized the microphone and was introduced by the president of the Chamber, Mr. Kasongo, even though this was not on the program that the Belgian and Congolese officials had jointly decided on.

There was about to be a moment of truth. In just a few seconds the atmosphere in the palace changed completely. All the anticolonialist militants admired their leader's eloquence and courage; the entire administrative corps of pseudo-decolonializing officials was aghast, however, at the cruel truths thrown in the face of the monarch and the whole world. From this moment on, the racist groups were determined to destroy this astonishing living symbol of African revolution.

SPEECH AT PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Congolese men and women:

As combatants for independence who today are victorious, I salute you in the name of the Congolese government.

I ask all my friends, all of you who have fought unceasingly at our side, to make this thirtieth of June, 1960, an illustrious date that will be indelibly engraved upon your hearts, a date whose

meaning you will teach your children with pride, so that they in turn will tell their children and their children's children the glorious story of our struggle for freedom.

For though this independence of the Congo is today being proclaimed in a spirit of accord with Belgium, a friendly country with which we are dealing as one equal with another, no Congolese worthy of the name can ever forget that we fought to win it [*applause*], a fight waged each and every day, a passionate and idealistic fight, a fight in which there was not one effort, not one privation, not one suffering, not one drop of blood that we ever spared ourselves. We are proud of this struggle amid tears, fire, and blood, down to our very heart of hearts, for it was a noble and just struggle, an indispensable struggle if we were to put an end to the humiliating slavery that had been forced upon us.

The wounds that are the evidence of the fate we endured for eighty years under a colonialist regime are still too fresh and painful for us to be able to erase them from our memory. Back-breaking work has been exacted from us, in return for wages that did not allow us to satisfy our hunger, or to decently clothe or house ourselves, or to raise our children as creatures very dear to us.

We have been the victims of ironic taunts, of insults, of blows that we were forced to endure morning, noon, and night because we were blacks. Who can forget that a black was addressed in the familiar form, not because he was a friend, certainly, but because the polite form of address was to be used only for whites?

We have had our lands despoiled under the terms of what was supposedly the law of the land but was only a recognition of the right of the strongest.

We have known that the law was quite different for whites and blacks; it was most accommodating for the former, and cruel and inhuman for the latter.

We have known the atrocious sufferings of those banished to remote regions because of their political opinions or religious beliefs; exiles in their own country, their fate was truly worse than death.

We have known that there were magnificent mansions for whites in the cities and ramshackle straw hovels for blacks, that a black was never allowed into the so-called European movie theaters or restaurants or stores; that a black traveled in the hold of boats below the feet of the white in his de luxe cabin.

Who can forget, finally, the burst of rifle fire in which so many of our brothers perished, the cells into which the authorities threw those who no longer were willing to submit to a rule where justice meant oppression and exploitation? [Applause.] *

We have grievously suffered all this, my brothers.

But we who have been chosen to govern our beloved country by the vote of your elected representatives, we whose bodies and souls have suffered from colonialist oppression, loudly proclaim: all this is over and done with now.

The Republic of the Congo has been proclaimed and our country is now in the hands of its own children.

We are going to begin another struggle together, my brothers, my sisters, a sublime struggle that will bring our country peace, prosperity, and grandeur.

We are going to institute social justice together and ensure everyone just remuneration for his labor. [Applause.]

We are going to show the world what the black man can do when he works in freedom, and we are going to make the Congo the focal point for the development of all of Africa.

We are going to see to it that the soil of our country really benefits its children. We are going to review all the old laws and make new ones that will be just and noble.

We are going to put an end to the suppression of free thought and see to it that all citizens enjoy to the fullest all the fundamental

* In the mimeographed text of Lumumba's speech this sentence reads differently: "the cells into which the authorities brutally threw those who had escaped the bullets of the soldiers whom the colonialists had made the tool of their domination." We must in fact remind the reader that there were three different versions of this speech.

freedoms laid down in the Declaration of the Rights of Man. [Applause.]

We are going to do away with any and every sort of discrimination and give each one the rightful place that his human dignity, his labor, and his devotion to the country will have earned him.

We are going to bring peace to the country, not the peace of rifles and bayonets, but the peace that comes from men's hearts and their good will. [Applause.]

And in order to achieve all this, dear compatriots, rest assured that we will be able to count not only on our tremendous strength and our immense riches, but also on the assistance of many foreign countries, whose collaboration we will always accept if it is sincere and does not seek to force any policy of any sort whatsoever on us. [Applause.]

In this regard, Belgium has finally realized what direction history was moving in and has not attempted to oppose our independence.* She is ready to grant us her aid and her friendship, and a treaty to this effect has just been signed between our two equal and independent countries. I am certain that this cooperation will be beneficial to both countries. We for our part, though we shall continue to be vigilant, will respect all commitments freely made.

Thus the new Congo, our beloved republic that my government is going to create, will be a rich, free, and prosperous country, with regard to both its domestic relations and its foreign relations. But in order for us to reach this goal without delay, I ask all of you, Congolese legislators and citizens alike, to aid me with all the strength at your command.

I ask all of you to forget the trivial quarrels that are draining our strength and threaten to earn us the contempt of those in other countries.

I ask the parliamentary minority to aid my government by con-

* In the mimeographed text, this sentence reads: "Belgium herself has finally realized what direction history was moving in and no longer attempted. . . ."

structive opposition and to stay strictly within legal and democratic paths.*

I ask all of you not to shrink from making any sacrifice necessary to ensure the success of our great undertaking.

I ask you, finally, to respect unconditionally the life and property of your fellow citizens and foreigners who have settled in our country. If the behavior of these foreigners leaves something to be desired, our justice will be swift and they will be expelled from the territory of the republic; if, on the other hand, they conduct themselves properly, they must be left in peace, for they too will be working for the prosperity of our country.

The independence of the Congo represents a decisive step toward the liberation of the entire African continent. [Applause.]†

Your Majesty, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,‡ my dear compatriots, my black brothers, my brothers in the struggle, that is what I wanted to say to you in the name of the government on this magnificent day of our complete and sovereign independence. [Applause.]

Our strong, national, popular government will be the salvation of this country.

I invite all Congolese citizens, men, women, and children, to set to work to create a prosperous national economy that will be the crowning proof of our economic independence.

Honor to those who fought for national freedom!

Long live independence and African unity! §

Long live the independent and sovereign Congo! [Prolonged applause.]

* In the mimeographed text there is a sentence here that was not included in the speech Lumumba delivered: "I ask all of you not to ask for inordinate raises in salary before I have had the time to work out the overall plan whereby I will be able to ensure that the nation will prosper."

† This sentence was added by Mr. Lumumba when he delivered his speech; it does not appear in the mimeographed text of the speech.

‡ These words do not appear in the mimeographed text.

§ The words "Long live independence and African unity" do not appear in the mimeographed text.

Following this speech, the document declaring the Congo independent was signed by Mr. Eyskens and Mr. Lumumba, the prime ministers of the two countries, and then by Mr. Wigny and Mr. Bomboko, the ministers of foreign affairs of Belgium and of the Congo.

JOINT DECLARATION OF THE CONGOLESE AND BELGIAN GOVERNMENTS

The Congo this day has attained its independence and international sovereignty, in full accord and friendship with Belgium.

Leopoldville, June 30, 1960

The Prime Minister of Belgium, G. EYSKENS	The Prime Minister of the Congo, P. LUMUMBA
The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belgium, P. WIGNY	The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Congo, J. BOMBOKO

Lumumba himself was surprised at the reaction to his speech. King Baudouin was humiliated, and wanted to leave Leopoldville, but Bomboko managed to patch things up by asking the prime minister to "explain his thoughts more clearly" at the luncheon that was about to begin, with all the dignitaries in attendance.

Lumumba then delivered the following "compensatory" speech.

At this moment when the Congo is attaining its independence, the entire government would like to render solemn tribute to the king of the Belgians and to the noble people whom he represents for the work that has been done here in the last three quarters of a century. For I would not like my thought to be misinterpreted. [Applause.]

Both His Majesty the King and the Chief of State will bow

their heads in respect before the tombs of the pioneers and the statue of Leopold II, the first sovereign of the independent state of the Congo. [Applause.] Since their time, a city has been built which we are proud of, which the distinguished members of foreign delegations have admired, and which is only one aspect of the modern Congo.

We owe these magnificent achievements, which today are the pride of the independent Congo and its government, to the Belgians. [Applause.]

Belgium recognized the independence of this Congo without delay and without restriction, a complete and total independence.

We hope that this realistic policy, which brings honor to Belgium throughout the world today, will lead to a lasting and fruitful collaboration between two independent, sovereign, and equal peoples who are nonetheless linked by bonds of friendship.

I raise my glass to drink the health of the King of the Belgians. [Applause.]

Long live King Baudouin, long live Belgium, long live the independent Congo.

Part Three

July-August 1960

The extraordinary enthusiasm felt by everyone at the independence celebration did not last long. On July 5 a frightful tragedy began in the Congo: soldiers of the Force Publique mutinied. These troops had been the victims of the severe racism of their white officers and of the dictatorial behavior of General Janssens, who had nonetheless been allowed to keep his command.

The rioting first broke out in the Lower Congo, and soon spread to several provincial centers.

At 7:30 A.M. on July 6, Lumumba delivered the following speech to the troops at Camp Leopold II, with General Janssens present:

As prime minister and minister of national defense, I have come here to greet you in the name of the government. I also want to thank personally the Force Publique, which is now our national army, for the way in which it has maintained order during these recent months. We want our army to be a fine army, comparable to those of other independent nations. The first government of the Republic of the Congo has a great desire: to assure you that the country trusts you and to bring about a noticeable improvement in your living conditions. New army regulations are going to be drawn up, but meanwhile I have a piece of good news to announce to you: all privates and noncommissioned officers are to be promoted, as of July 1, 1960, to the next highest rank, except for recruits in training centers; that is to say, a private second class will now be a private first class, a private first class will now be a corporal, a corporal will now be a sergeant, a sergeant will be a first sergeant, a first sergeant will be a sergeant-major, and a first sergeant-major will be a warrant officer. Further promotions will be made on the basis of merit.

The new reform planned for the army will remove all traces of racial discrimination in the military.

I must particularly stress the fact that discipline must be maintained in the military. Such discipline is necessary if we want our republic to have a fine army that will be the pride of the nation. I remind you that your officers, your warrant officers, and your non-commissioned officers are the representatives of the government among you, and they have sworn to serve our country loyally. Officers, warrant officers, noncommissioned officers, and privates, I am confident that you will lead this country to a better future.

The soldiers were not satisfied, however, and acts of rebellion became even more widespread. Lumumba delivered a radio address to the populace.

I have an important message to deliver to the populace. The Council of Ministers has examined the serious situation that has arisen within the army as of last evening. The council has in particular examined the direct causes of the trouble, and after deliberation has taken the following measures to confront them: (1) Plans are being made to promote Congolese in the military so that they may eventually take command of the national army. Apart from these measures, a special commission has been set up to examine the future status of army officers. (2) Measures will be taken against the European officers and warrant officers who are responsible for the agitation among the Congolese military. We met this morning with Mr. van den Bosch, the head of the Belgian diplomatic mission, and I informed him of the situation and of the measures taken. (3) The members of the military who have been arrested and are now in prison cells will be freed immediately. (4) The minister of justice, Mr. Justin Mwamba, and Mr. Kamitatu and Mr. Diomi, the president and vice-president, respectively, of the Provincial Government of Leopoldville, and I are going to Thysville today to contact the members of the military who have rebelled. We plan

to return this afternoon. The Council of Ministers has also examined the political, economic, and social situation of the country. The government's objective is to turn over command posts in all sectors of the administration, the army, and the police to Congolese. This is the only way we will be able to prove that the Congo is really independent. Thoroughgoing reforms are planned in all sectors. My government will make every possible effort to see that our country has a different face in a few months, a few weeks.

This message was repeated over the radio in the various languages commonly spoken in the Congo.

On July 7 the European populace was thrown into a panic when it learned that a number of families in the Lower Congo had been the victims of violence. Blacks and whites spent that night in mortal fear of each other, for the blacks were expecting Belgian paratroopers to land, and the whites believed that Russian planes were landing on the airfield at N'Djili.

The period of imaginary plots thus began, and soon became a nightmare for the actors in the drama. Lumumba accused the Belgian officers of sabotaging the republic and trying to murder him; the rioters, for their part, would have gladly rubbed out the prime minister and driven General Janssens out of the country. These troops were against both whites and "politicians." The authorities were overwhelmed by this unexpected anarchy. Lumumba and Kasavubu and a few courageous ministers rushed from one end of the country to the other, trying to calm the troops and reassure the people. On July 11 they went to Luluabourg, for the entire European population was being put to flight by bands of rebel soldiers. Lumumba then began negotiations with the Belgian consul in Kasai, M. Swinnen, for he wanted the Belgians to remain in the city.

CORRESPONDENCE OF JULY 11, 1960

Republic of the Congo
Office of the Prime Minister
Dear Mr. Consul-General:

Pursuant to the meeting you had with us at the Luluabourg airport [today], Monday, July 11, 1960, I have the honor of informing you that I approve of your proposal aimed at permitting the Belgian troops from Belgium now engaged in active operations in Luluabourg to remain in the city under the following conditions, which I strongly insist upon:

1. The sole mission of the troops from Belgium will be to aid the Congolese National Army to maintain order and ensure the safety of persons and property in the province of Kasai.
2. Any new request for troops must have our prior approval.
3. The Belgian troops will not act on their own initiative; they will obey orders from the local commandant of the national army, who is responsible to my government.
4. The action of the Belgian troops will end immediately on receipt of orders to that effect from the government of the Republic of the Congo.

Please be assured, Mr. Consul-General, of my highest regard.
Luluabourg, July 11, 1960

The Prime Minister and Minister of
National Defense
P. LUMUMBA

To His Honor the Consul-General of Belgium in Luluabourg

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I have the honor of acknowledging receipt of your letter in

which you agree that Belgian troops may remain in Kasai providing certain conditions are met.

I am examining the latter and will let you know my opinion on the subject when you go to the airport.

Please be assured, Mr. Prime Minister, of my highest regard.

M. SWINNEN

Consul-General of Belgium

To His Excellency the Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo

Republic of the Congo
Office of the Prime Minister
Luluabourg, July 11, 1960

Dear Mr. Consul-General:

I have the honor of acknowledging receipt of your letter of this date.

I agree in principle that the Belgian troops from Belgium at present on active operations in Luluabourg may remain in the province of Kasai for at least two months under the conditions you have requested.

This agreement must be confirmed in writing, however, as soon as you have notified me of the acceptance by your government of the conditions I laid down in the letter I sent you as of this date.

I confirm my government's willingness to ensure, by every means at its disposal, the safety and the protection of our Belgian friends, with whom we wish to live in peace.

In the name of the government of our republic, I deplore the inadmissible acts that certain members of the military have allowed themselves to commit against Europeans living in this province.

Our minister of justice, Mr. Mwamba, has given the royal prosecutor strict instructions to begin legal proceedings against all guilty parties immediately.

I wish to express my sincere sympathies for all your fellow citi-

zens, and beg you to accept, Mr. Consul-General, the assurance of my highest regard.

PATRICE LUMUMBA

Prime Minister and Minister of National
Defense of the Republic of the Congo

To His Honor the Consul-General of Belgium in Luluabourg

Luluabourg, July 11, 1960

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Pursuant to my letter of this date in which I acknowledged receipt of your missive of July 11, I have the honor of informing you that I accept the conditions laid down with respect to the presence of Belgian troops in Kasai, this acceptance being contingent, however, on (1) subsequent approval by my government, which circumstances have prevented me from consulting, and (2) the modification of paragraph 4 to read as follows:

4. In order to restore people's peace of mind, Belgian troops will remain in the province of Kasai for at least two months. Belgium reserves the right, however, to withdraw these troops before this period expires if such a step is deemed advisable.

Please be assured, Mr. Prime Minister, of my highest regard.

M. SWINNEN

Consul-General of Belgium

To His Excellency Mr. Patrice Lumumba, Prime Minister of the
Republic of the Congo

This same day Lumumba delivered another message about the situation.

SPEECH TO THE CONGOLESE PEOPLE

An inquiry into the causes of these incidents has been begun. Thus far there is reason to believe that they stem from two principal causes. First, the systematic refusal of the former commander-in-chief of the Force Publique, General Janssens, to give command posts to Congolese soldiers. We have found it hard to make General Janssens understand that the independence of the Congo would not be total if Africanization was not thoroughgoing, both in the administration and in the army. Our constructive proposals have been consistently disregarded. The very same sort of negative attitude on the part of the General Executive College was what led me to submit my resignation from that body. I have always protested against the administration's lack of understanding, which led it to attempt to give the Congo its independence without making the slightest change in the old colonialist structure.

The second cause is the fact that certain minority members of Parliament have directly intervened in army affairs. A parliamentary commission of inquiry, headed by Mr. Kasongo, the president of the Chamber, is looking into this matter. The Congolese government cannot allow the country to live in a climate of continual unrest because of the actions of certain parties. We have demanded independence so that peace and order may reign in the Congo. We want to build our country, not tear it to pieces. The first duty of the government is to ensure order and tranquillity, so as to allow our country to begin to prosper economically. The Congolese who visit Belgium or settle there are well treated, and it is inconceivable that Belgians who live in the Congo should not be similarly well treated. We have asked for our independence in order to govern our country ourselves. We need the cooperation of Europeans in order to do so. We cannot tolerate their being the object of violence and harassment. But we wish to build our country ourselves and turn

over positions of leadership in the army and the administration to Africans.

[The prime minister then read the list of recent army promotions and command assignments in Leopoldville, Matadi, Moanda, Thysville, Boma, and Banane.]

Similar promotions and assignments will take place in all army cadres and all provinces of the Congo. This is the only way of proving to the world that our independence is total. In the days to come, we will continue our action aimed at changing the face of our country. We ask employees of the Congolese government to trust us as we trust them.

The Congolese government will not tolerate the sending of Belgian troops to the Congo without our consent. Moreover, the troops already here cannot intervene without our consent and can act only with the approval of the Congolese government. We have just learned that the Belgian government has sent troops to the Congo and that they have intervened. Belgium bears a grave responsibility. We strongly protest this measure which endangers the good relations between the two countries. We call upon all Congolese to defend our republic against those who are attempting to threaten it.

On the evening of July 11, 1960, an event occurred which was to have a decisive influence on the fortunes of the Republic of the Congo. Moise Tshombe announced the secession of Katanga and proclaimed it an independent republic. He immediately recruited Belgian officers to head his troops and his police force, and later he was to hire from Algeria mercenaries and paratroopers who were experienced torturers.

He used independence as a means of fighting Lumumba, calling him "the instigator of our troubles" and denouncing him as an agent of international communism.

A crucial incident next occurred, which was to lead Kasavubu and Lumumba to break off relations with Belgium and cancel the agreements concluded the day before in Luluabourg. On July 12,

the chief of state and the prime minister flew to Elisabethville, but Katangese ministers and Belgian officers forbade them to land in the Katangese capital. Munongo and Kasavubu then had a dramatic confrontation. From this moment on the chief of state was to be the stubborn enemy of the Belgians, for he rightly concluded that he had been betrayed. On July 14 diplomatic relations were severed.

The chief of state and the prime minister continued their tour of the country. They returned from Kindu on July 14. The day before, they had heard on the radio that the occupation of N'Djili by Belgian paratroopers had caused "the death of more than a thousand Congolese," and they had called on the USSR for aid.

The Chamber met on July 15 and Lumumba made a long report to it, followed by debate.

REPORT TO THE CHAMBER ON THE SITUATION IN THE REPUBLIC

Mr. President, dear deputies, I am very happy to be here with you today to report to you on the situation that has developed.

I asked the president to give me the floor immediately because I have just received messages from my office informing me that the situation is becoming worse; I must go back there immediately to examine it.

I will read you the note I have just received: "Mr. Prime Minister, the situation is more serious than you think; if you aren't here in three minutes we'll all be dead." This morning I received a note from Mr. Luyeye, the executive secretary of the chief of state, which reads: "I have just now been informed that Belgian paratroopers have apprehended a number of unarmed Congolese military police in a jeep on the boulevard Albert Ier and locked them up in the Jules van Lancker Company on the avenue Cerekel."

Another note informs me: "The Belgian troops have fired on civilians in front of the Hotel Memling; there are apparently two dead." That, my dear friends, is why I said we are facing a serious

situation. I am very happy and very gratified at the strict control you are exercising over the government, because were this not the case, it would not commit errors at this point only but would continue to do so. The government represents the nation. Two or three days after the government came into power, just as we were in the process of drawing up our governmental declaration, asking the advice of this or that member of Parliament because we want a national policy that will meet with everyone's approval, serious trouble broke out.

Two days after the proclamation of independence, I invited General Janssens to my office and told him: "In the name of the government, reforms must immediately be instituted in the national army." Delegations of members of the military have come to me, and others have written me in this regard. They have demanded reforms. The general refused to accept my proposals. Among other things, I asked him to promote each soldier to the next highest rank; those who are first sergeant-majors, for instance, would automatically become warrant officers, and so on. We have already set up four commissions that will draw up new regulations for the national army, with the aid of the Chamber. As for *administrative* structures, I wonder first of all if we are going to keep the present administrative boundaries or divisions, since it was decided at the meetings of the Round Table that after June 30, 1960, the provincial governments, by agreement with the central government, may proceed to set up new administrative boundaries. We had also planned to change the regulations concerning the status of government employees. According to the program of our government, only Congolese nationals or persons who have acquired Congolese citizenship would be granted this status. It is inconceivable that Belgian and Congolese government employees should enjoy the same status after the independence of the Congo, when even in Belgium only Belgians can be granted the status of state employees; their constitution is explicit on this point. We will do the same in the Congo, for a Congolese may have ten diplomas and still never be

granted the status of an employee of the Belgian government. They have the audacity to demand guarantees in our country! This is inconceivable.

We were in the process of examining all these problems with the intention of submitting our suggestions to the Chambers when the troubles broke out. Why did the soldiers mutiny? General Janssens told them that even though the Congo was independent, there would be no change in the army. There were also others who harassed them. It was after this harassment that trouble broke out at Camp Leopold.

The president of the Chamber of Deputies, the president of the Senate, the chief of state, and I have traveled throughout the country to examine the situation firsthand. We had to hasten all over the country. The chief of state and I left to study the situation in Thysville and then the even more crucial one in Matadi. If we had not gone to these places, my dear brothers, I assure you that we would now be living through even more crucial hours than we are. We also went to Banane, where the situation was no less serious, and to Moanda and Boma. We turned command of the army over to Congolese and appointed Belgian officers whom they trust as advisers who will remain at their side. We have taken all necessary measures.

The minister of justice, who went along with us during our investigations, gave out the following communiqué: "The minister of justice of the Republic of the Congo, Mr. Mwamba, who arrived in Matadi today, accompanying the chief of state and the prime minister, informs the public that legal proceedings have been instituted against Congolese military personnel or civilians who allegedly committed arbitrary and inadmissible acts against Europeans in the Lower Congo. The public prosecutor's offices in Matadi and Boma will diligently pursue their investigations. In the name of justice, the Congolese government cannot tolerate such attacks on human dignity and the rights of the individual. The government is determined to guarantee the personal safety both of nationals and of

foreigners, and to severely punish all those who attempt to disturb public order and the tranquillity of its citizens."

We drew up this communiqué with the approval of the chief of state and the government in order to prove that it is justice that counts for us, and that if Congolese civilians or military personnel have really attacked whites, they must be punished.

We summoned a magistrate whom the minister of justice asked to open an inquiry, for the evidence that the disorder created was a carefully staged coup, planned in advance, had been concealed. And what did he reply? "I am unable to conduct an inquiry. The fact is that we do not have control of the judiciary anywhere in the country."

When we returned, we were informed of disturbances on every hand. The chief of state and I went to Luluabourg, where ammunition had been distributed to all the Europeans. We called meetings with our military officers and the Belgian officers serving with our army. A number of the latter were abandoning their posts. This is systematically organized sabotage. At the Central School in Luluabourg, as in all the camps and companies, we turned command over to Congolese military personnel exclusively; the colonel was made a military adviser at the demand of the Congolese soldiers. Army officers who are undesirable, and therefore rejected by the soldiers, will have to leave.

We thus remedied the situation in Luluabourg by turning command over to five Congolese officers. In appointing these five we followed the consensus of all the military personnel, and they were satisfied. We asked members of the Provincial Government to submit proposals immediately so that the same measures may be taken without delay in the administration as well. You are not unaware that in the Congo the entire administration is really in the hands of Belgian officials. This situation cannot continue. Throughout the territorial administration the heads of departments must be Congolese, and the Europeans who stay on with us must be technical advisers. This is no time to leave political power in the hands of Bel-

gian officials, as is the case today, fifteen days after attaining our independence. We await suggestions.

We met with Baluba delegates in Luluabourg who had come to ask us to create a special province for them. They expressed their discontent with the biased behavior of certain members of the government of Kasai. They were of the opinion that partitioning the province was the sole remedy, the only way to restore peace in Kasai. In the name of the government, I proposed that they accept the solution that had been arrived at for the Lower Congo, where people also wanted two provinces. We asked them to accept this solution, even if only temporarily, and wait for a final solution later. Along these same lines, I suggested, with the approval of the chief of state, that Mr. Ngalula become vice-president of the Provincial Government, as Mr. Diomi has done in the province of Leopoldville. These machinations betraying internal dissension are a disgrace to us. We must get along with each other, we must prove to the Europeans that the Congolese are capable of getting along together and making peace and order the rule among the tribes.

I have also proposed that the names of candidates in Baluba territory be submitted to me so that they may immediately be appointed administrators in their native territories. Thus the Lubas, instead of being governed by certain officials who treat them badly, will be governed by members of their own tribes, who know what they are like. Another proposal I made was that names of candidates for diplomatic posts or posts in the central administration be submitted to me, for we are anxious to have all ethnic groups participate in governing the country. And where the European has failed, we will try to touch people's hearts so that a solution may eventually be found. The possible creation of another province, moreover, is a matter that Parliament must decide. I would like the Balubas to make concrete proposals regarding the boundaries of their new province. Commissions will be set up to examine these proposals.

We sent for a military plane. Major Nkokolo, the commandant

of Camp Leopold II, and a delegation of six members of the military were aboard. I asked this delegation to go to Katanga to tell their comrades about the very important reforms that the Central Government was planning for the army, to inform them that we would be arriving in Katanga shortly, and to persuade them of the necessity of restoring order throughout the country in order to show foreigners, to show the Europeans, that we are capable of running our country's affairs. When the plane arrived in Elisabethville and was just about to land, it received orders from the Belgian troops not to do so; Katanga had declared its independence.

If the plane landed despite this, the order went on, the passengers aboard would be taken prisoner.

The Belgian officers aboard the plane radioed their compatriots: "Listen, we're running out of gas; we want to land and fill the tanks." The plane was given permission to land. Immediately after it touched down, Belgian soldiers came up, arms in hand, to tell the delegation not to get off the plane: "The only reason we came here was to contact our Congolese friends in the military," the delegates told them. "Very important steps have just been taken in Leopoldville. The chief of state and the prime minister are on their way here and we want order restored. We came because they won't listen to whites; we must talk to them as brothers. If you won't let us do that, at least let us get a phone call through to the president of the Provincial Government."

"No, you can't do that," the Belgians replied. "Go back immediately, otherwise you'll be taken prisoner. If the chief of state and the prime minister come, they'll be taken prisoner too, because Katanga has declared its independence."

The delegation returned to Luluabourg and told us all about this incident. I immediately summoned the official in charge of the Sûreté and ordered him to make an official report. This report had to be made by this official, who is Belgian, so that the truth of it could not be questioned later.

Here is what the report states:

On this date, July 12, 1960, we, Wercet (?), Charles, assistant administrator of the Sûreté, on instructions from Prime Minister Lumumba of the Republic of the Congo, took down the statements of the following persons: Nkokolo, Justin, commandant of Camp Leopold II in Leopoldville, who declared: "Yesterday, Monday, July 11, 1960, I flew to Elisabethville in a military aircraft piloted by three Belgian officers so as to restore order there, pursuant to instructions to that effect from the prime minister, Mr. Lumumba. The plane attempted to land at Elisabethville airport at about 11:05 A.M. The captain of the plane was advised by radio that no persons coming from Leopoldville could land at Elisabethville. At the insistence of the latter, the aircraft was nonetheless allowed to land. When I got off the plane I noticed that the entire airport was surrounded by Belgian soldiers. Several of these soldiers came over to us, arms in hand. I asked to go to the military camp, but was not allowed to do so. They told me that all Congolese military personnel were being guarded by Belgian troops. I then asked to talk to the president of the Provincial Government of Katanga, Mr. Tshombe; I was not allowed to do this either, and was told that if I went to see Mr. Tshombe I would be taken prisoner. I was informed that Mr. Tshombe was in conference and was about to declare the independence of Katanga."

As soon as independence was officially declared, the Rhodesian troops at the border would enter Katangese territory. I was informed that the news that the president of the republic and its prime minister were planning to come to Elisabethville was already known, and that they would be taken prisoner if they came. The captain of the plane telephoned from the airport to try to get Mr. Tshombe to receive the delegation that I was heading, but we were not allowed to see him either. I was told to leave Katanga immediately if I didn't want to be taken prisoner." [The statement was signed.]

Mr. Dartot (?), Claude, captain of the plane on July 15 [sic], declares: "I was the pilot of the DOB proceeding from Luluabourg to Elisabethville on the fifteenth. I had a delegation of military personnel from Camp Leopold headed by Mr. Nkokolo, the commandant of Camp Leopold II, aboard. Since my radio was not working properly, I was not able to contact the tower at Elisabethville until I was over the field. The tower told me that there was every likelihood that planes with delegations coming from Leopoldville would be forbidden to land at any airfield in Katanga. I then

answered the control tower and said that I was running short of gas and that it would be impossible for me to reach an airfield outside of Katanga. I was then given permission to land to fill the tanks. Once on the ground, I went to the control tower to contact the members of the Provincial Government by telephone. The control tower had just that moment received a telegram from the Provincial Government of Katanga ordering it to forbid our plane to land, and specifically stating that if we did land we were to be taken prisoner. I told the people in the tower that the delegation would remain inside the plane and that I would take off again as soon as the tanks had been filled in view of this decision by the Provincial Government. I thought it best to take off again immediately after having filled the tanks in order to avoid any incidents. The airfield was being guarded by troops from Belgium. It is true that when I left the plane several armed soldiers came over to it."

The assistant administrator of the Sûreté and all the others are witnesses.

After having received these reports, I decided that it was absolutely necessary for us to go to Elisabethville immediately, because the chief of state had publicly sworn, before this Chamber and before the entire nation, to protect and safeguard the integrity of the territory of the nation, and if he did not take steps, the nation would hold him responsible; this is also the duty of the government. It might mean our death, but if so we would die; as leaders responsible for the nation we had to go to Katanga.

We flew to Kamina without notifying anyone beforehand; as we got off the plane, all the Belgian military personnel present and many European civilians who were at the airfield repeatedly called us "apes." They hurled unbelievable insults at us. Colonel van Lierde (?), the commandant of the base, arrived, and I said to him: "Sir, we are in a sovereign country; I am accompanying the chief of state, who in your country is called the king. It is unthinkable that your officers and all these people here who are enjoying the hospitality of our country should permit themselves to insult our chief of state in such a shameful manner."

The commandant replied: "You should have notified us that you

were coming instead of just suddenly arriving at Kamina Base out of nowhere," whereupon he took us to the entrance of the airfield where these Europeans were standing. We went into a little office and he asked us not to leave the airfield. I asked why, and he replied that there was great tension in the city. We had gone there for the express purpose of relieving that tension.

We then began to ask questions: "Do you know that our government has signed a treaty with Belgium, under the terms of which Belgian troops, both those from the two bases in the Congo and those from Belgium, can act only at the specific request of our government?" He answered: "I have been informed of it, but not officially." "How long have you known that such a decision had been made?" we asked. About a week. "Who authorized you to send troops to Luluabourg?" That was a military secret. He finally told us: "If you need information, you must consult the Belgian government and my commanding officer, General Gheysen, commander-in-chief of the Metropolitan Forces." We were anxious to have an official record of what had transpired. We therefore made an oral report and the minister of justice drew up the following document:

On July 12, 1960, we the undersigned, Mwamba, Rémy, minister of justice of the Republic of the Congo, finding ourselves on this date at Kamina Base, whence we had accompanied the chief of state, Mr. Joseph Kasavubu, and the prime minister and minister of national defense, Mr. Patrice Lumumba, were witness to the following events: Proceeding from Luluabourg to Elisabethville, we landed at Kamina Base at the request of the chief of state and the prime minister, for the purpose of contacting the military authorities of the base. As we got off the plane at 5:45 P.M. local time, the chief of state, the prime minister, and their entourage were greeted by people insultingly shouting "Apes, apes!"

These insults were hurled by Belgian military personnel from the base and a group of European civilians in their midst. The insults were repeated three times, in the presence of the commandant of the base, Colonel van Lierde (?). The prime minister and minister of national defense called the grave insults which the chief of state and his entourage had just been the object of to the attention of

the commandant of the base. The latter replied that it was a group of Europeans who were responsible and that we should have given advance notice of our arrival instead of turning up in Kamina unexpectedly. Messrs. Yava, Joseph, minister of economic affairs; Lumbala, state secretary to the president; Kini, Emmanuel, the executive secretary of the president of the republic; Angelo, Henri, the press attaché of the Office of the President of the Council; and N'Tumawako, Jean-Marie, radio reporter of the Ministries of Information and Cultural Affairs, witnessed this incident.

In witness whereof we have drawn up the present report on the aforementioned day, month, and year. After reading this document, the witnesses affixed their signatures along with ours.

The chief of state then asked the commandant of the base to put a plane from the base at our immediate disposal, along with an escort of Belgian soldiers to ensure our safety. "We are going directly to Elisabethville," the chief of state declared, and the commandant of the base replied that he could not put this plane at our disposal and would have to consult Leopoldville.

We then said: "Sir, we have signed a treaty of friendship and co-operation with you. When the chief of state asks your help, don't waste time waiting for the approval of your government. If King Baudouin came to us to ask our help, do you think a member of our government would make him wait around for approval from the government? Where is the spirit of collaboration you have always made so much of?"

The commandant finally contacted General Gheysen, who was in Leopoldville. The latter agreed to give us a Dakota. At the same time I suggested to the president, who approved of my proposal, that the Belgian troops be ordered to go back to their camp within the next two hours and that no Belgian soldier be allowed to leave the base until the government and Parliament had arrived at a decision. We drew up a communiqué to this effect, worded as follows:

The chief of the Republic of the Congo and the prime minister and minister of defense order the Belgian troops from Belgium cur-

rently on active operations outside the limits of the bases of Kitona and Kamina:

- (1) to go back to camp within the next two hours;
- (2) not to go outside the limits of the aforementioned bases.

The chief of state and head of the Congolese government pledge that they will ensure the safety of Belgian nationals and of Europeans in general with their own armed forces. These orders are being issued by virtue of the treaty of friendship and assistance between the Belgian government and the Congolese government signed on June 29, 1960.

Executed at Kamina Base at 6:26 P.M., July 12, 1960; signed by the Chief of State and myself.

Bulletin: I have just been notified by my office in Leopoldville that Belgian troops are continuing to fire on people in front of the Otraco building: it is reported that there are four dead.

Once we had given this order, we went aboard the plane. But what sort of aircraft was given us? Comfortable passenger planes were available, but our chief of state was given a plane with no seats, a paratrooper plane with no place to sit! But all we wanted was a means of transportation, and this didn't bother us. We left Kamina at 8 P.M. for Elisabethville, and arrived there around 10 P.M. But the lights on the field were turned out before we could land. The Belgian military personnel there ordered the pilot not to land. Why? Because Katanga was now independent. The chief of state and the prime minister were told that they would not be allowed to set foot in Katanga.

As we circled over the city, we told them: the chief of state must be allowed to land; he is in his own territory and his own country. It is inconceivable that Belgian soldiers should prevent the chief of state from landing in his own country. It is as if King Baudouin were traveling through Belgium and somebody or other said to him: "Baudouin, you can't land here because this country doesn't belong to you." We insisted, but they refused to listen.

We were forced to turn back.

Fifteen minutes after we had been refused permission to land, the pilot informed us that he had just received orders to take us directly to Luluabourg and not go back to Kamina. We asked him who had any such right to order us around; we've left our plane and our pilot in Kamina and we have to go back there, we told him. What we really intended to do was to get off the plane in Kamina and go back to Elisabethville by car, a distance of two hundred kilometers, even if we died in the attempt. The pilot took us to Luluabourg, against our will, as if we had been prisoners. We arrived there at three in the morning, spent the night there, and contacted the members of the Provincial Government again. The army plane flew in that morning. We decided to tour the entire country, because the Belgians were hatching plots against us all over. We went to Kindu and Maniema, having received many telegrams from there asking us to come. When we arrived, the atmosphere was very tense, but there had not been any trouble yet. You will recall that a state of emergency had been declared there and the region occupied by military troops before independence, and these measures had remained in effect after the independence of the Congo. People were subjected to harassment and the military were on the rampage everywhere, sowing panic and terrorizing the populace. We immediately contacted several members of the Provincial Government and took steps to end the state of emergency in Maniema at once, in order to allow people to live together peaceably again. We then proceeded to appoint new officers to take over command of the army and issued those directives necessary to restore order and ensure the safety of Europeans, despite the fact that they had treated us badly. We earned the loyalty of the military, the members of the government, and the populace. The situation at that point was not as tense. We left Kindu for Stanleyville yesterday at 12:05 P.M. The whites there too are continuing to wage a campaign of general disobedience and stirring up trouble both within the army and in other areas.

We asked the pilot what time we would be arriving in Stanleyville and he told us we would land at 1:30 P.M.

At 2:00 P.M. we were still in the air. I was surprised, and told the president I didn't understand what was happening: we had been told that we would be in Stanleyville by one-thirty and it was now two o'clock. The president went to ask the pilot again what time we would arrive in Stanleyville, since it was past the time he had said. The pilot replied that he had received orders to take us directly to Leopoldville. The president ordered him to land at Stanleyville immediately.

I then talked to the pilot too: "We know you are Belgian, but this plane now belongs to the chief of state and the Congolese government. You are in the service of the Congolese government and have no right to disregard the orders of the chief of state just because you have received orders from a foreign power, that is to say, Belgium. We are independent now; and Belgium is a separate country now, just as France and America and other countries are. What you are doing is an act of high treason."

The pilot pretended to obey then, and made a long detour to lead us to believe that we were returning to Stanleyville. Then suddenly we landed at Leopoldville, against our will, as if we had been prisoners. We had already sent a telegram to Stanleyville announcing that we were coming. All the people in the city and the members of the government had been waiting for us at the airport since two o'clock.

We arrived at N'Djili yesterday around 6:30 P.M. We were met by a clique of the Belgian army under the command of General Kimo,* who then introduced himself: "General Kimo of Brussels, accompanied by General Gheysen; do you wish to review the troops, Your Excellency?" "That is out of the question," I answered.

"I insist that you review the troops," the general said. I repeated: "Sir, that is out of the question. You have brought these troops here to put our country under military occupation, in violation of our

* The general in question was General Cumont. (Editor's note.)

agreement, and you have the audacity to ask that the chief of state and the head of government review them? That would mean that we approve of the presence of these troops here."

General Kimo then said to the chief of state: "Are you aware that this airport is under my command and that I can take you prisoner?"

Here in Leopoldville yesterday, this Belgian general threatened to take the chief of state prisoner! I replied: "Sir, I should like you to know that you are not in your own country. You have arms and ammunition and we don't; we have only our bare hands." General Gheysen retorted: "Sir, I should like you to know that I am in command of this airport. We are here to protect you." "We don't need your protection," I protested. "Go protect the Belgians in your own country."

"Murderers!" he replied insultingly. "Are you going to allow Belgian women to be raped here?"

He then made other insulting remarks in reference to the chief of state and myself.

Finally he said: "Do you want bloodshed in Leopoldville?" The president then replied: "Gentlemen, if you have a thirst for blood, let it flow, but I am here to tell you that it will not!"

We then headed toward town, promising to go back to Stanleyville that same day.

We went directly to the Sabena Agency to ask for a plane. The employee in charge told us to go find Mr. Dieu, the director-general, who immediately gave his approval. When he asked us where we wanted to go, I told him that we needed a plane to take us somewhere inside the Congo, and that there was no need for him to know our precise destination.

With this information in his possession, Mr. Dieu, the director-general, went off to get the blessing of the Belgian troops and see if they approved of our being given a Sabena plane! This way of going about things led me to telephone the following message to the director-general: "Mr. Dieu, I don't understand you; you are a commercial company; our state has a financial interest in this

company. When the chief of state or the prime minister want to buy bread, does the baker have to have the permission of Belgian troops to sell it to us?" Mr. Dieu finally gave us a plane.

I asked him to take us to the Ndolo airfield, since I knew our lives were in danger and we had already risked death twice.

"Come out here to N'Djili," Mr. Dieu answered. "I've made all the arrangements, and gotten permission from the Belgian troops, who are here to protect you; nothing will happen."

We agreed. When we arrived at the airport, we fell into a ridiculous trap. The Belgian troops stared at us in a very peculiar way. Then all the Europeans at the airport surrounded us and called us "apes," "murderers," "hoodlums," "thieves," and so on . . . some of them spat in my face and pulled my beard, and one of them jostled me and took my glasses. We endured other humiliations, as the Belgian soldiers stood by and watched in amusement.

Dear deputies, you cannot imagine the scenes we have witnessed in the last ten days! Can you imagine a chief of state and a head of government of an independent country being dragged in the mud, insulted, and publicly vilified by foreigners on their own territory like that? There were foreign journalists present. Instead of telling the world about this, they have come to us asking for statements, for press conferences! What are we to do?

We all went back to the residence of the chief of state, where we spent the night.

I apologize for neglecting to tell you that during our stay in Lulua-bourg, we sent the following telegram to the United Nations, through Mr. Bunche, the assistant secretary-general, who is now in Leopoldville, with a copy for our government:

The government of the Republic of the Congo urgently requests the sending of military aid immediately by United Nations stop Our request is justified by sending to Congo of Belgian troops from Belgium in violation treaty of friendship signed between Belgium and Republic of the Congo June 29 stop Under terms of this treaty troops cannot intervene unless by express request of Congolese gov-

emment stop This request never made by government of Republic of the Congo stop We consider unrequested action by Belgium act of aggression against our country stop Real cause of most of troubles colonialist provocations stop We accuse Belgian government of having deliberately plotted secession of Katanga in order to keep upper hand in our country stop

Before going on, I remind you that the Belgian government has just appointed a Belgian general as commander-in-chief of the army in Katanga.

Under the terms of the decisions made at the Round Table Conference and the Fundamental Law, the Congo and its six present provinces constitute an indivisible entity. The Congo has been recognized as an independent state in its present unity. Belgium is plotting the secession of the province of Katanga, the source of its wealth.

How is it possible for Belgium, which has recognized our country as an independent state and signed the document recognizing our independence here before the Congolese nation, to plot the secession of Katanga? Tshombe has proclaimed the independence of this province! Belgium has sent troops to Katanga, prevented the chief of state and the head of government from landing there, and appointed a Belgian general as commander-in-chief of the army. With his hand thus strengthened, Tshombe declares that he now has enough troops to oppose the Central Government. Do you see what Belgium and her king are up to?

Our government, with the support of the Congolese people, refuses to allow itself to be confronted by a fait accompli resulting from a conspiracy hatched by a Belgian imperialist and a small group of Katangese leaders stop Overwhelming majority Katangese people opposed to secession which means disguised perpetuation of colonialist regime stop Military aid requested aimed at essential protection of national Congolese territory against present foreign aggression threatening international peace stop Strongly insist on imperative need to send UN troops immediately to the Congo stop

This telegram, signed by the chief of state and myself, has been sent to the United Nations. We have also sent the following telegram to the ambassador of Belgium, the vice-president of the Council of Ministers here, the prime minister in Brussels, and the Belgian minister of foreign affairs:

In light of (1) the flagrant violation by Belgium of the clause of the treaty of friendship concluded June 29 1960 with the Republic of the Congo providing that Belgian troops cannot be used on Congolese territory unless expressly requested by the government and (2) the attack on its integrity by inciting the secession of Katanga, the proofs of which are (1) the fact that the chief of state was forbidden to land at Elisabethville Tuesday July 12 by Belgian troops currently stationed there, and (2) the appointment of a Belgian officer as commander of the Katangese military forces — our government has decided, as a consequence of the act of aggression committed against the Republic of the Congo, to break off all diplomatic relations with Belgium as of this date, July 14, 1960 stop Signed: the President of the Republic. [*Applause.*]

Dear deputies, this was an emergency, and we therefore asked the chief of state to decide, for if it had been necessary to consult the Parliament every time the country threatened to go under, the situation would have been far worse. We therefore broke off diplomatic relations with Belgium. The Belgian embassy is to be closed. All Belgian diplomats must return home. [*Applause.*]

When the Belgian troops, including those at the bases at Kitona and Kamina, have left, we will examine the possibility of a resumption of diplomatic relations with that country. We cannot maintain relations with a country that today is attacking us, that has occupied our country militarily, for this is a cause of shame to the nation. The independence of the Congo has been recognized, but today the chief of state and the head of government are insulted and vilified, attacks are made on our lives, our people live in terror, and all the streets are occupied by Belgian soldiers who continue to murder us. Can we go on living with these people among us?

[Shouts of "No, no, no" from all the benches. The President of the Chamber requests order.]

As for the treaty of friendship that Deputy Weregere has said that the government could not sign without the agreement of Parliament, I must tell you that the government signed it because a resolution to this effect was passed during the sessions of the Round Table. All the leaders approved it at that time. The resolution was passed because Belgium had a majority of the delegates on its side; they did not represent the nation; they were in the pay of Belgium. You are well aware of this. What does this resolution say? That a treaty of friendship between the Belgian and Congolese governments will be signed before June 30. Who voted for this resolution? You who were delegates at the Round Table. That is why we signed this treaty and I assure you that it is going to take a great deal of effort to change it. If we showed you the draft that Belgium submitted to us, you would be amazed to see what it contained. It was not drawn up without the Congolese who sat on the Political Commission in Brussels, to whom Belgium had made many promises. We may well wonder why the entire contents of this draft were approved. Fortunately we were able to make important amendments. This can be seen from the minutes.

As for the armed forces, the treaty stipulates: "Furthermore, it [the treaty] shall be valid for a minimum period of ten years." Don't you see that they wanted their troops to remain here forever?

We had a great deal of difficulty getting the delegates to reject certain clauses. Article 6 as amended by us now reads:

"Military intervention of any sort by Belgian forces stationed on bases in the Congo can take place only at the express request of the Congolese minister of national defense. Subsequent agreements will determine how the military bases in the Congo are to be taken over and will specify the forms of cooperation desired by the two governments."

Belgium wanted to keep its bases without allowing the Congolese government to have any control over them. We replied that this was

out of the question; they may remain, on condition that they do not intervene in our affairs; otherwise they must be dismantled immediately. Plans for taking over these bases in order to train our children and train the cadres of our air force on them will be submitted to Parliament later.

Our government must have these installations. If Belgium does not agree, let her take them back to Belgium.

We have signed this treaty; it is now up to you to see whether what we have done serves the interests of the country.

As for the troubles in the country, dear honorable deputies, I assure you that they are the result of a deliberate plot. I agree that certain ministers may have perhaps behaved improperly at the time these incidents occurred, but no minister is responsible for the present situation. What is the reason for the present difficulties?

Westerners have tried to get our government to sell out to the imperialists. We were offered a great many agreements. I decided not to sign those agreements that were harmful and unfavorable to the interests of our country, because they merely meant that the Congo would be dominated economically by financial groups from Belgium. As a result of our categorical refusal, Belgium is endeavoring to harm us today.

Whenever an agreement was offered us, we replied: "Parliament must decide first."

"No," the Belgians replied, "your representatives at the Economic Round Table and the members of the Political Commission have already given their approval." We finally declared that this did not bind our country to accept such agreements.

Since we are a nationalist government, whose one concern is the interest of the country, those who covet our wealth are attempting to plunge us into anarchy, to demoralize the members of the government, marshal the population against us, and bring about the fall of our government. They will manipulate puppets who will not hesitate to blindly sign any sort of agreement and thus place the Congo under foreign domination. That is the truth of the matter.

If the chief of state and I had not made it a policy to make our presence felt throughout the country in order to calm the people, to give them courage, and raise the morale of the army, I swear to you that the Congo would be faced with a situation you cannot even imagine.

The Belgians are sabotaging us throughout the country. For one example, the members of the Provincial Government of Kivu came to see us in Kindu to tell us that certain officials had carried off funds amounting to 2,000,000 francs. Government documents have been burned in most departments. The money disappears, and technicians sometimes cut the communication lines or sabotage them. Who knows? In a few days we may be without water or electricity. You have no idea what is going on behind your backs. Here in Leopoldville you have practically no idea what is going on, but if you were to go out into the country! What is happening is dreadful. I assure you that if this continues, in two weeks we will not even have enough money to pay our government employees and you will be paid ten francs' salary. It is chaos, a terrible crisis. It will take us five years to extricate ourselves from this impasse.

The political independence that Belgium has given us with her left hand is being taken away from us with her right hand through economic domination.

The public prosecutor's offices are no longer functioning; the magistrates of Luluabourg, for instance, closed down this office before leaving. Technicians are quitting and taking off. The Luluabourg radio station is no longer broadcasting. Communications between Luluabourg and Leopoldville have been cut off.

The European technician at the intelligence service in Leopoldville had locked the doors of his office and carried the keys off with him. I sent the police out in a plane to hunt him down. When I dressed him down for what he had done, he replied: "I left because I was hungry." "That's not true," I answered. "You could see that if you stayed here, your machinations would have been discovered."

When the troubles first started, a group of armed Belgians broke

into my house to kill me. I owe my life to the Congolese soldiers who arrested them. The Belgian ambassador was at my house when our soldiers arrested these malefactors. It was one o'clock in the morning. "Mr. van den Bosch," I said to him, "you are a witness. Your countrymen have come here to murder me. Are you going to deny it?" He was speechless!

The Belgian ambassador told me that he would lodge a complaint against the Congolese government with the United Nations and would warn his brothers in NATO, that is to say, the Atlantic forces and their cohorts.

I have here the letter that the ambassador sent to the vice-prime minister in my absence. Here is what it says.

Leopoldville, July 14, 1960.

Mr. Gizenga, Vice-President of the Council of Ministers, Leopoldville.

Mr. Vice-President:

In the course of the meeting it called on the evening of July 13, the Congolese government stated that it wanted Belgium to evacuate the troops stationed at the N'Djili airport and in Leopoldville before 5 A.M. July 14.

Thus you can see that the government made decisions during our absence. It specified that the evacuation order had to be carried out before 5 A.M.

Belgium refused to carry out this strict order. In the course of this same meeting, Mr. Kanza, the minister and chargé d'affaires at the United Nations, also announced that the Congo had sent a letter to the Security Council regarding the presence of Belgian troops on our territory. The government had lodged a complaint against Belgium with the United Nations. The Security Council made the following decisions in this regard (*you can see what sort of decisions the Security Council was already making*):

- (1) the withdrawal of Belgian troops,
- (2) the sending of United Nations troops.

Belgium's permanent delegate to the United Nations stated that

Belgian troops would remain in the Congo as long as the UN did not have the situation well in hand. This meant, in other words: as long as the UN troops do not have the situation well in hand, we will not leave! Why this mention of "having the situation well in hand"? We have our own army; all we are asking for is UN troops; the Belgian troops must leave.

"No, we are not going to leave as long as we do not have the situation well in hand," the Belgians say. What does that mean? This declaration, which did not meet with the approval of Tunisia and the USSR, was expressly approved by the other countries who were members of the Security Council, including the United States! This country therefore approves of Belgium's maintaining its bases in the Congo because it has economic interests here. As a consequence, the Belgian government, through the intermediary of its ambassador, has asked me to inform you of its decision, which is as follows:

1. Belgium is prepared to implement the decisions of the United Nations Organization. (*Belgium is prepared to implement these decisions because it has America's support: Belgian troops must remain!*)

2. Belgium therefore pledges to withdraw the troops that have intervened when and where public order has been satisfactorily restored by United Nations troops.

3. Belgian troops will remain in the Congo as long as necessary to ensure public safety.

4. The Belgian government asks the Congolese government to collaborate in the reestablishment of public safety. (*Belgium is now preaching to us!*)

5. It respectfully calls the attention of the Congolese government to the fact that it would bear grave responsibilities if it were to contravene the decision of the highest international tribunal. (*Belgium threatens us with reprisals, with sanctions if we do not bow to its decision, which has the support of the United States.*) The

Congolese government must above all avoid any measures leading to pointless provocation and any dangerous agitation.

6. Since it desires to provide clear proof of its willingness to adhere to the decisions of the United Nations, the Belgian government will take advantage of the arrival of United Nations guards in Leopoldville tomorrow, July 15, and withdraw an equivalent number of Belgian troops.

Thus if 20,000 UN troops arrive, 20,000 Belgians will leave. Otherwise the problem will not have been resolved: since the Belgians can no longer remain in the Congo, they are calling on their allies in the UN to take their place.

This letter dated yesterday and signed by Ambassador van den Bosch is tantamount to a declaration of war against us. Do you see what Belgium, the country that is our friend, Belgium our "brother," the Belgium of cooperation and treaties of friendship, is trying to do? Do you see the position the Belgian government has put us in, fifteen days after our independence, just when we needed to begin to experience the joy of living in peace? All the foregoing makes it impossible for our government and yourselves to work in peace; under these conditions the government cannot draw up its program and submit it for Parliament's approval so that each one of us, whether ministers or deputies, may follow our policies and still work together as a team, since we are children of the same fatherland, so that our young nation may develop and genuine changes may be brought about. Belgium is unfortunately blocking our path, and there is nothing we can do about it.

Since these incidents first began, the chief of state and I have hardly eaten or slept. I therefore propose that the Assembly approve the following measures, to be taken in the order stated:

1. Breaking off all diplomatic relations with Belgium, closing the Belgian Embassy, and sending its diplomatic corps back home [*Applause*];

2. Demanding the immediate withdrawal of the United Nations

forces (which are to arrive today), if it is true that they are coming here to operate in accordance with arrangements made with Belgium that the latter country has notified us of;

3. Allowing these forces to remain in the Congo only if they will abide by the decisions of the Congolese government, in particular those aimed at ensuring that these forces will not serve the interests of Belgium;

4. Accepting the services of troops from Ghana if the government is convinced that they are not coming here to collaborate with the Belgians but rather to aid us in a spirit of brotherhood.

We have had talks with the ambassador of Ghana. Their troops are arriving today at 3 P.M. The telegram that the government of that country sent us was couched in very diplomatic language. This afternoon we will officially request that Belgian troops evacuate the territory of our republic within twelve hours, in accordance with the arrangements that have been made and approved by Parliament. I presume that this is a reasonable deadline that will allow them sufficient time to get themselves organized and leave. [*Murmurs from certain benches.*]

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER. Order, please; the situation is serious, my dear brothers. Let's say, rather, that these forces of aggression must withdraw immediately from our *cités* and the airport and leave tomorrow morning.

MR. LUMUMBA. We also demand that the Congo be given back everything that belongs to it, our national patrimony that is still confiscated in Belgium. [*Applause.*] By that, we mean all the parastate funds, all our money, all our frozen funds. We were duped into believing that this transfer would take place on June 30, as you will recall, but to date we have received nothing; we must take our case before the International Tribunal at The Hague.

In the face of this grave situation, I hereby notify Parliament that the chief of state and I are planning to do a little traveling incognito in the interests of the country. We are to go back to Stanleyville to-

day; we will tell you what we have discovered within a week, because if we do not do this, dear brothers, in a week the Congo will find itself without a cent of money, without electricity, without anything. The following precautions will be taken: at the suggestion of the chief of state, we asked the United Nations to put a plane at the disposal of the president of the republic, because the planes we have been traveling on are piloted by Belgian officers who fly us around wherever they please, as if we were prisoners. They took us to Leopoldville yesterday against our will, as if we had been prisoners. Given these conditions, how can we be sure we will reach our destination? In the interests of the country, the chief of state is determined to contact the people, whom certain parties are stirring up all over the country. We were to go to Stanleyville yesterday, but we never got there. We have made arrangements with the general from Ghana who is arriving at 5:30 this afternoon with Ghanaian troops to travel aboard his plane under the protection of Ghanaian and Congolese troops.

The government and the chief of state are opposed to the secession of Katanga, for it violates the Fundamental Law. This secession, moreover, was not brought about through the initiative of Congolese; it was Belgium that was at the bottom of it. We suggest that Parliament immediately recall the Provincial Government of Katanga, declare a state of emergency in this province, and send a special commissioner possessed of full powers there. [*Applause.*]

My dear honorable deputies, it is with deep emotion and tears in my eyes that I have given you this report on the grave and dramatic situation confronting our homeland, this country that we all love and that we proudly hope to make a beautiful and great one, following the example of Ghana and Guinea after their independence. Belgium has forced us into a very bad situation. Our children and our wives weep, our entire nation weeps. We are expecting a great deal of you; we must work hand in hand to overcome this situation. Should there be the slightest dissension among us, colonialism will seize the opportunity thus offered it to stir up trouble throughout

the country. As you have seen, the Belgian parties have united against us. They are organizing parades and shouting everywhere: "Long live General Janssens! Long live General Janssens!" — that fascist! . . . I hope, dear brothers, that we will work shoulder to shoulder together. We have no arms, but we will call upon any friendly nation willing to help us. We will call on the devil if need be; we will continue to follow our policy of neutrality. We do not want any outside influence in our country, but we will cooperate with anyone. Dear honorable deputies, that is the situation. I thank you once again for your trust in the government you have elected.

As regards the conduct of the ministers, I would never approve of a member of our government conducting himself in an improper and unworthy manner toward the homeland. As for the use of official cars, I have given all the ministers orders, and their chauffeurs have been given instructions, to put their cars in the garage after 6 P.M., and I have asked them not to act like megalomaniacs. The ministers must live among the people. If one of them wants to go for drives, he has only to buy himself a car and use it for that purpose, outside of working hours. I have told all the chauffeurs that if a minister makes them work after 6 P.M. they should ask for extra pay. We must not appear to have stepped into the shoes of the colonialists in the eyes of the people. The official cars have been bought with the people's money. Our government is responsible to Parliament, and I have listened to the remarks of Deputies Kama, Weregemere, and all the others in a genuinely patriotic spirit. They are indignant at the conduct of certain ministers, and I have taken note of this. It is up to Parliament to examine the situation more closely and propose measures that I should take. I want the government to work hand in hand with Parliament as a team. *[Applause.]*

The number of victims of the recent incidents will be announced to you soon; we are conducting an investigation at this very moment. The government has sent Nguvulu to the Lower Congo, where he and Minister Kisolekela are conducting a thorough investigation to determine how many people the Belgians have

killed. I received a telephone call from Mr. Nguvulu this morning, informing me that the morale of all the troops in the Lower Congo is very low; they are asking for the withdrawal of the Belgian troops, whatever the consequences, and the aid of either Ghanaian troops or UN troops to raise their morale, for the troops from Kitona have already occupied the port militarily and have reached the black districts of the city.

We have just been told in fact that there were people killed while we were in Luluabourg. We are going to speed up the investigation, for all these deaths will be the object of legal proceedings. . . . We must make an inventory of all the damages and protest to the Belgian government. A few days from now, as soon as we have found out the exact number of people killed and identified the victims, we will submit a report to Parliament. As regards national defense, I must admit that certain errors have been committed by certain members of my government, and I deplore this. I know that they have not always acted in bad faith, and that is why I recall having said here in this Chamber and explained to others that the Department of National Defense should not be entrusted to any one individual because he might use his office to stir up trouble in the country. Since this department is run by the Council of Ministers, no one person is responsible for it. I myself am merely the president of the council. There is no way for me to make a decision or negotiate with anyone without the approval of the Council of Ministers. It would be unthinkable to entrust the Ministry of National Defense to a single individual, who might help stage a military coup in exchange for a five million franc bribe. You must foresee what might happen in this country.

The members of the government must respect Parliament and admit their mistakes. But I beg Parliament not to attempt to interfere with the government's conduct of the nation's affairs for no good reason. When someone makes a mistake, he must own up to it. I agree with Parliament on that score and believe me, we shall all control ministerial activities together.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER. I believe that we shall apply sanctions from now on.

MR. LUMUMBA. I am sorry, Mr. President, dear honorable deputies, but the situation is very serious, people are dying, and I am urgently needed in my office. I would have liked to explain the situation in the Congo to you representatives of the people in much more detail. The situation can become crucial in a matter of ten minutes. I ask you to examine the question of what practical measures can be taken. Meanwhile, if you have an important question to put to me, I will reply before I leave. As for other detailed questions concerning the government, I leave Mr. Gizenga, the vice-president of the council, here at your disposal. If, however, one or another of you thinks that I can personally answer his question immediately, I am at his entire disposal.

Mr. President, in the name of the chief of state and the government, in view of the crucial situation, I ask you to give special powers to the government in order to speed up operations, for we are really in a state of war, and ask you to appoint several members of Parliament to help exercise these powers. A chronological report will be drawn up for the Chamber by this commission in order to circumvent the normal procedure, which is too slow. The question should be put on the day's agenda and then debated. We are in a state of war, and decisions must be made without delay.

[Messrs. Madudu and Kama then speak on the subject of the numerous trips of the chief of state and the prime minister to various parts of the country.]

MR. LUMUMBA. Dear honorable deputies, I have understood your remarks, which were well taken. It is obvious that in every country in the world the life of a head of government, the life of the chief of state, the life of even a deputy is very precious. I can understand that very well. But believe me, we are not making these frequent trips for our pleasure. The situation is such that our presence in certain places is necessary.

I have so much news that I cannot tell you in a public session. Who is responsible for the country? The Parliament. If you trust the chief of state and the head of government, you may rest assured that the proposals they put before you are in the interests of the nation. You are unaware of several aspects of the situation. Unfortunately, I cannot divulge them in a public session. It is all very well to take special measures to protect ourselves; this is in fact necessary; we could travel aboard a non-Belgian plane with an escort of foreign troops, for example. One of the members of the government, Mr. Songolo, has just said that a telegram has come from Stanleyville announcing that the situation is calm there and that it is not necessary to go there now; I am quite certain that this telegram was not sent by the Provincial Government, because the president of this government left here only a short time ago, bound for Stanleyville, where he will wait for us. I will cite you yet another case: when we arrived in Kindu, we were given a telegram signed by the minister of the interior. Upon inquiry, we discovered that it was not the minister who had sent the telegram. A certain group of people are sending telegrams to try to create confusion. Do you know that certain Europeans in Stanleyville and throughout the Congo are planning terrible coups? If we had not gone to Matadi and Kasai, I swear to you that we would have experienced troubles that you cannot even imagine. Our presence was enough to calm the rebellious populace and disarm the white populace plotting our destruction. Telegrams from several members of the military say: "If you don't appear here inside of an hour, there is going to be trouble." This is true. A peacemaking mission is necessary. The situation improves wherever the chief of state and the head of government go.

I understand your concern. We might go along with Parliament and stay at home like little monarchs, but when things get worse you will be the first to blame us, to demand explanations of us. You want us not to budge an inch, to make us idlers who are content to run some little errand from time to time the way the colonialists did yesterday!

As we travel about the country, we uncover a number of plots hatched by Belgian officials. The chief of state then takes immediate action. If a commission were to accompany us wherever we went, it would realize that we must follow a dynamic policy at this point and act without the slightest delay. I must stress the fact that our travels are absolutely necessary if we do not want to be held responsible for a disastrous deterioration of the situation in the next few days. If the Chamber insisted, however, we would both go quietly back to our homes to rest, and remain there.

[Mr. Sendwe takes the floor and then the president of the Chamber sums up the situation.]

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER. To fill in what Mr. Sendwe was just saying, I draw the prime minister's attention to the fact that Mr. Hennequiaux's presence in the Congo is dangerous. As proof of this, I mention the following facts. I went with him on a mission to Stanleyville. During our visit to the three military camps of this city, I realized that there was a plot afoot. He wanted to stay in Stanleyville, and the counselor of the Provincial government offered to accompany me on my visit to the Uélés. I refused to part company with Mr. Hennequiaux because I had been ordered not to leave him. I therefore ask the prime minister to have this person closely watched. If we sent the Belgian troops away, we must also send the officers of the Force Publique back home.

MR. LUMUMBA. I take the floor to answer the president and the honorable Deputy Mr. Sendwe.

I share the latter's point of view, and I assure you that I understand your concern. We have received many telegrams informing us of the situation in Stanleyville. What the president of the Chamber says is quite true. The oppression of the populace of Orientale Province is in fact continuing.

The Belgian soldiers, noncommissioned officers, officers, and public officials still have all the power in their hands, and members

of the Provincial Government do not have enough authority to compel them to obey.

You can see that this trip is absolutely necessary. Calm still reigns in Stanleyville, but the slightest incident could plunge all of Orientale Province into a bloodbath. The populace has realized how dangerous the situation is, and that is why it has summoned the chief of state and me to restore order, in the army, among other places, where soldiers will themselves suggest the names of non-commissioned officers they trust to replace white officers. The soldiers no longer like Hennequiaux or any of the other officers. The same policy will be followed in the case of certain officials within the administration who can be dismissed by the central power. Give us permission to leave tonight for Stanleyville and restore order; we will come back tomorrow. I am convinced that we will be in no danger there. We will make the necessary arrangements, and instead of going on to Bukavu as we planned, we will stay over in Stanleyville and return to Leopoldville tomorrow.

[A debate then begins between the president and Messrs. Gbenye, Kashamura, and Kalonji. For the benefit of the latter, Mr. Lumumba makes one last clarification of his position.]

MR. LUMUMBA. I reply to the very sensible remarks made by the honorable Deputy Mr. Kalonji. He brings up certain precise points. Mr. Kalonji criticizes me for not having ordered the members of the government to act and take certain measures during my absence. I gave the necessary orders. Our government team has a genuine team spirit, that is to say, we govern the country collectively. The prime minister may be absent, but if he is, the vice-prime minister will preside over the meetings of the council and make decisions. The Council of Ministers held regular meetings and decided at five o'clock in the morning on the fourteenth that Belgian troops must be withdrawn completely. This decision, made in my absence, is ample proof that the government does not consider it absolutely necessary

for the prime minister to be present in order to arrive at a decision in an emergency; he is just one minister among others. It is regrettable that the government has not been in regular contact with Parliament. Because it was not, the members of Parliament did not know what the government was doing. Since the relation has not been a close one, you have had the impression that the council wasn't doing anything. We thank you for having brought this matter to our attention; and personally, I am of the opinion that this irregularity will not occur again in the future.

Mr. Kalonji, moreover, brought up the point that in Europe the chief of state or the head of government cannot tour the country without the consent of Parliament. I believe that he is somewhat mistaken. King Baudouin visited the Congo very suddenly last year. When questioned about this, the minister of the Congo replied that he had not been informed that the king intended to travel there.

Moreover, Mr. Collard, the leader of the opposition, expressed his indignation at this, and asked the government why it had not informed his bloc of this trip.

So I would say that in certain cases a statesman can travel about without being expressly authorized to do so.

King Baudouin made a hurried visit here because the interest of his subjects was at stake.

When the head of government or the chief of state travels, it is the government and not Parliament that must be advised, for that is within the province of the executive. In pursuing the policy of the government for which he is responsible, the prime minister can travel as much as he pleases; he can go off ten times a day if he so wishes. He does not need to ask Parliament's permission to do so, for the role of the latter is to supervise the action of the government and pass legislation. If I have kept you informed of what I have done, it was because I want us to work in a spirit of sincere collaboration; I was not obliged to do so.

Mr. Kalonji has said that the army is badly organized. This is

obvious, for as he has just stated, our heritage has been sabotaged. We took over only a few days ago, on June 30, so how could we have been expected to have the army well in hand and have everything else under control that very same day? This was absolutely impossible. Even if I had had a program and had presented it to you on June 30, do you think this would have prevented the Belgians from plotting against us? Never in the world. What is a government program? It is the political line it takes that determines what a government is: it will have a certain political policy, developing the country, creating jobs, setting up cooperatives, and so forth; it will have another policy with regard to social problems. This is what a government program represents in general. But what sort of circumstances did we find ourselves in? The government was formed at the last moment after all sorts of compromises. The government took over, a coalition government, a government of national union. Would it have been logical to take the program of the MNC and force it on the government team? Obviously not. Each party in the government had to announce its program, and of all the different programs presented, we had to carry out just one.

But unfortunately troubles broke out three days after we came to power and parliamentary officers had not even been elected yet. How could we have been expected to present a program under such circumstances? Be understanding and logical. If you had been in our shoes, you would have been forced to do the same. A program exists, even though we have our own ideas and our own policy; we will call upon competent members of Parliament to help carry it out, for it will be neither Lumumba's program nor a government program, but the program of the country, of the nation. We are a young nation, and we must not copy Western methods exactly. In the West, the legislative, executive, and judicial powers are supposedly separate. The government has its own prerogatives, which Parliament must not interfere with: everything that concerns the government, all its measures. Is there any reason why we should

copy what we have seen to be the case in Europe: a senate and a chamber that interfered with the exclusive prerogatives of the government?

I for my part believe that since we are building this country together, we ought not to apply all these Western methods. A member of Parliament, for instance, can come to me and recommend someone he thinks is a good man so that a job can be found for him within the administration. Let us work together like children of the same father; let us build our country and a typically African system with new institutions.

We have found it impossible to present a program. Let me ask you: if we had shut ourselves up for four days just to get this program drawn up while troubles were breaking out in the country, what would have happened? The ministers you see here don't sleep; it was six in the morning when we took the measures instituting the curfew. We are arresting all those, black or white, who violate this curfew. Each minister has a team of soldiers and police officers to arrest all those who take advantage of the darkness to commit misdeeds. They don't sleep, they stay on duty like sentinels, they patrol the streets like police officers, because if we started acting like bourgeois — "I'm a minister" — if we were content merely to relay orders to European commissioners, to officials who are around only to sabotage us, we would never manage to restore calm. That is why we ministers and the chief of state go down to the *cité* to calm the people, because we still are not in control of the administration. Everything is still in the hands of European officials. We want to put our men in charge all over the country, and if certain members of Parliament know of capable candidates to suggest, they may do so; candidates for posts in the police, in this or that department, and so on. . . . So many are needed. We will put these men everywhere, so that the Congo may go on with the business of government, and each person with a responsible job may feel free to call on an adviser, a technician he trusts to give him a hand with the technical part of his job. We must do all this as soon as possible.

Do you think the situation would right itself as if by magic if a new team were to replace the one we have? It would have the same difficulties we are having, and perhaps even more serious ones. All we are asking for is close collaboration between Parliament and the government. And whenever one of you has suggestions to make, don't hesitate; come and see us. If you have a proposal to make to a minister, go to his office; if he doesn't agree with you, come and see me or express your point of view in Parliament; because if we each work on our own, we will not extricate ourselves from this situation. The program must also come from you; if you have any ideas, pass them on to us. If, for example, a member of Parliament made a suggestion about an economic matter, a highway or a bridge, and Parliament approved, we would see to it that the suggestion was carried out. You can see that the program depends not only on us, but on you too.

On July 19, Lumumba visited Stanleyville and delivered two speeches outlining his program. They are reproduced here word for word, as recorded live.

I. SPEECH IN STANLEYVILLE

Congolese Unity

We have already sent certain people away, and we will continue to do so. We want the Congo to be a really free country, a country whose inhabitants, black and white, live in peace. We must see that human charity and fraternity reign in our country. The Europeans who have remained among us must be protected; we must prove that the Congolese people are a decent people; there are no more Bakongos, no more Bangalas, no more Wagenias, only one free people. We are all citizens and we must safeguard national unity.

Yesterday Europeans tried to divide us: they tried to divide the Bakongos and the Bangalas; they tried to divide Kasavubu and Lu-

mumba; and we are proving to all these people that today we are united. [Applause.]

And we are going to safeguard our national unity, for it is this unity that will make the Congo a great nation in the heart of Africa, and the Congo is going to play a great role in liberating the remainder of Africa tomorrow. We want the African continent to be a free continent.

Sexual Equality

And our women who are here, who are listening to us and hearing what we have to say — we want our women to be at our side. Women must no longer be shunted aside. We want to live on an equal footing with our women.

Rapid Africanization

We want to turn command of the army, the administration, the police, all the positions of leadership over to Congolese. And the Europeans who remain among us will simply be advisers.

We want these leaders to perform their new jobs conscientiously, competently, patriotically; and any Congolese who does not want to work for the national cause must be removed from his post, even if his name should happen to be Kasavubu or Lumumba.

We want honest people, people who will work for the country. We want people in a few months to say: "The Congo is really a free country."

And if the man appointed chief of police or commander of the Force Publique doesn't know French, he can speak in Swahili or Lingala: we have our national Flemish. [Laughter, applause, and shouts of "Uhuru!"]

We are going to visit the military troops now, the police camp; we will have contacts with Congolese officials; we are going to name administrators, police commissioners, judges, today. All posts must be occupied by Congolese today, not tomorrow. [Applause.]

And then all of us together, dear brothers, dear sisters, factory

workers and office workers, intellectuals and manual laborers, rich and poor, Africans and Europeans, Catholics and Protestants, Kimbanguists and Kitawalistes alike, one and united, will build a great nation.

A Call to Order

Oriental Province must be a model province. There must not be the slightest disturbance in Oriental Province. Not a single European's peace must be disturbed. Not a single hostile cry must be raised against a European. You must welcome even those who mistreated us yesterday; you must prove your goodness of heart.

It is you who will be the honor of our republic; it is you who will be the glory of our young country; we are going to get around the present obstacles and surmount them.

I have always told you: we have no arms. We don't need arms. Let us mobilize to liberate our country. You have listened to me; today our country is liberated. *Uhuru* is here. [Applause; shouts of "Uhuru!"]

I give you another watchword today: to make order reign in Oriental Province, to make peace reign. Anyone who comes to you and says, "Let's go attack so-and-so, let's go attack a white, let's attack that black who was a member of the PNP" — anybody who says that to you is the enemy of our freedom. [Applause.] And you yourselves will be the police. If you see a child throwing stones, if you see someone insulting a woman, you must arrest him or take him to the police. [Applause.] And if you obey me and follow my orders, you will see that we will reach a second stage, and then we will go on from there.

The Human Investment

There will be work tomorrow. We are going to see that all of you who are unemployed have jobs. You must give us a little time, though. Just because the Congo has gotten its independence doesn't mean that money has fallen from heaven or is going to fall from

heaven; that is not true. We must redouble our efforts. We must now drink one bottle of beer for the [inaudible passage] instead of two bottles. Our women must work; everyone must go out into the fields. We must mobilize to create a national economy, a prosperous rural economy. Don't get the idea that the Congo is going to develop with capital from outside the country. That is not true. Capital is necessary, but first we ourselves must work. Our effort. We must get to work and combat idleness and shiftlessness. Follow us. It is a pleasure to present Mr. Djinn, the ambassador of Ghana, to you here; he has come to bring you greetings from the people of Ghana. [Applause; shouts of "Ghana," "Uhuru!"]

This is proof that the African peoples are united today. The independent African peoples are not against the West; they are not against Europe; rather, we are for friendship between the former powers and our countries. Europeans have accomplished a great deal in Africa and we are grateful for their efforts.

We simply ask that they understand the need for change that is unavoidable. The Ghanaian troops have come to the Congo to help you, to bring order to this country.

Dear brothers, dear sisters, follow us, march with us, we are going to bring order. [Applause.]

II. ADDRESS TO THE SOLDIERS OF STANLEYVILLE

Before calling the roll of the officers to whom we have handed over command of our national army, I will permit myself to make a few specific remarks in the name of the government.

The fact that our government is turning command of our army over to nationals in no way means that we are forcing aside the Belgian officers and noncommissioned officers who are among us and who tomorrow will help the Congolese leaders create a well-run army. The Congolese National Army owes its present organization to the Belgian officers who fought side by side with us for eighty years to make the Congo a great free country. The Congo has be-

come an independent country. Its political, military, social, and economic structures must also change as a result of this independence. Whenever a country anywhere in the world becomes independent, the leadership of that country must be handed over to nationals, in accordance with the principles both of public and domestic law and of international law. A country that has become independent must call on men, technicians, and officers who have its confidence to help it; and it is above all in the Belgian officers who are among us that we place this confidence. Though we may have a political quarrel today with the Belgian government, this must not affect relations between us and the Belgians who have settled in this country, or between our soldiers and the Belgian officers and noncommissioned officers among them. We must look beyond the mistakes that have been made and see the man; we must see the human element. And I can say to the officers who are among us here today: there are some of your number who have fled; there are some who have left because their conscience was troubled. But there are Belgian officers and noncommissioned officers who have courageously remained with the Congolese troops because they still want to serve this country; we say to these officers: our government has confidence in you, we are counting a great deal on you.

We know that our officers may lack experience in this area or that, but it is you who are going to help them.

There are also bad elements among us. There are some among the Belgian officers; there are some among the government officials; this is true in every country in the world; no sweeping general statement can be made. These bad elements must leave; they are the ones who are contaminating life here in the Congo. And once all those people who are determined to pursue the same great task of building the great Congolese nation remain here, I am convinced that we will create a handiwork that the Congolese people and the Belgian people will be proud of, as they already are. We do not want to give the impression that what we are doing today is directed against the white man, not at all. We are merely setting up

new institutions as a result of this independence that we have won, while remaining friends with Belgium. And if Belgium is making mistakes today, we do not want to imitate her. It is her own affair if she compromises herself. And when we say Belgium, we do not mean the entire Belgian nation, but only the handful of men in power, the few men who regard this country only as an opportunity for exploitation, domination, and the furthering of a few selfish interests. But the Belgian people as a whole always receive us with open arms when we go to Belgium.

And we want the Belgian people to know that the Congolese people still feel friendly toward them and that the Belgian officers who are here can help us, as they have in the past, and help our officers create a well-run new Congolese army.

At 10:30 P.M. on Tuesday, July 19, the Congolese national radio broadcast a speech by Lumumba. The complete text reads as follows.

My dear compatriots,

We have just come back to Leopoldville this evening, after a two-day stay in Stanleyville, where I arrived last Saturday with the chief of state. During these two days we made important appointments within the army, the police force, and the administration. When we arrived in Stanleyville, the situation was particularly calm in Orientale Province. But Belgian paratroopers landed at Bunia at 2:30 P.M. on Monday to pursue their mission of aggression and provocation. They immediately opened fire on Congolese troops. Two Congolese soldiers were killed. The Belgian troops, moreover, seized arms and ammunition belonging to your national army. Similar acts were committed in Coquilhatville, where one soldier and one policeman were killed, and in Kindu. The Belgian troops are creating panic and unrest throughout the Congo.

Everywhere they go they mount surprise attacks on our troops. For ten days now the chief of state and I have been traveling all

over the country to preach calm and examine the situation more closely. Our presence in the interior of the Congo has been beneficial in many respects and has allowed us to uncover many secret plots that threatened to plunge our country into an even graver situation than is generally believed. Having witnessed the acts committed today by the Belgian government in our country, we cannot believe what it told us yesterday for a single instant. Belgium recognized the independence of the Congo yesterday; today she is sabotaging that independence. The ministers of Belgium who signed the document recognizing the Congo's attainment of international sovereignty on June 30, before all the nations of the world, before the Congolese nation, are the same ministers who sent us occupation troops a few days after the independence of the Congo. The Belgian government, which made it the Fundamental Law that the Congo and its six present provinces formed an indivisible and indissoluble political entity, is the same government that has instigated the secession of Katanga, for the sole purpose of keeping the Union Minière. The proof of the criminal acts of Belgium in the Congo has been clearly established by the arrest of General Victor Lundula, who was appointed by the chief of state and was in Jadotville, and now is a prisoner in Elisabethville, by the appointment of a Belgian commander-in-chief in Katanga, and by the sending of Belgian troops and special envoys to that province.

One thing is certain: Belgium has damned itself in the eyes of the entire world. Its schemes will fail. The valiant Congolese people will be the victors. We would rather die for our freedom than continue to live in slavery. All the life forces of this country have been mobilized to save the honor of the country and courageously defend its independence. The tide of solid support for the young republic is visibly mounting. Every day we receive messages of affection and solidarity, from every corner of the globe, for the just cause we are defending. History never takes a step backward. The Congolese people will let nothing stand in their way in their effort

to wipe out every vestige of colonialism and imperialism from their soil. Nothing matters to us, to the Congolese government that you have elected, except the interest of our nation. And our government is determined to defend this sole interest to the very limit, even at the cost of the lives of its members.

In a letter we sent the secretary-general of the United Nations, a letter signed by the chief of state and myself, we set a deadline for the withdrawal of the Belgian troops. We had been promised that the Belgian troops would withdraw as soon as the UN troops arrived in the Congo. The UN troops have been in the Congo for more than a week and the Belgian troops refuse to withdraw. They are continuing their aggression. This time limit that we set expires today, July 19, at midnight. If the United Nations cannot satisfy our people, our government will be obliged immediately to call on troops of other nations. We cannot continue to live under the unjustified military occupation of a foreign power.

I inform public opinion in the Congo and throughout the world that Katanga will not be separate from the Congo. The province of Katanga is an integral part of the independent Congo, from the point of view both of internal public law and of international law. Just as the province of Antwerp in Belgium will not become independent, neither will the province of Katanga become independent in an independent Congo. Our great, rich country will remain united, in order to play a primary role in the association of free nations of Africa.

My dear compatriots, we are standing firmly on our feet day and night with you to defend the integrity of our national territory. Those who still look upon the Congo as a conquered country, as an international market where they can come looking for gold, are mistaken. The Congo is a free country. Its women and children, its workers, its intellectuals will defend it, because the riches of the Congo belong to them. And we are going to exploit them ourselves so as to make the Congo a great and prosperous nation in the center of Black Africa. And tomorrow the Western countries that envy

us today will come and seek asylum here. We will welcome them, for we are a peace-loving country.

Long live the sovereign and independent Republic of the Congo!

On July 21 King Baudouin addressed the Belgian people "with infinite sadness" and denounced the "frightful cruelty" that was rife in the Congo, but hailed the "entire ethnic groups" (those in Katanga) that "have remained our friends."

Before leaving for New York to defend his government's position before the United Nations, the Congolese prime minister spoke over the Leopoldville radio on July 22.

My dear compatriots, it is with deep emotion that I address you today to announce an important and excellent piece of news to you. This piece of news will please you greatly. This piece of news will comfort you.

The day that our young, sovereign, and independent republic was brutally attacked by Belgian troops, we reacted immediately. My government, with the entire approval of the chief of state, sent ceaseless appeals to the United Nations day after day. The Security Council answered our appeal by sending its troops to the Congo. According to the decision of the United Nations Security Council, Belgium was to withdraw its troops from the Congo. The Belgian government, backed by its financial groups and the enemies of our freedom, refused to abide by the decision of the highest international tribunal.

Our government had decided to send a delegation to New York as soon as possible. This delegation was made up of Mr. Thomas Kanza, the minister assigned to the United Nations, and André Mandi, the state secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The government continued to appeal to the United Nations each day for its help in ridding the country of enemy troops immediately. I finally decided, with the approval of Parliament, to go to New York personally in order to defend our government's position and put

the realities of the situation in the Congo before international opinion. My departure for New York was announced by the assistant secretary-general of the United Nations, who is in Leopoldville at the moment. I am leaving for the United States today from Leopoldville. The president of the Chamber and a parliamentary delegation, a number of deputies and senators, together with a number of members of the government, will accompany me on this trip. At 5:40 this morning, I received a telephone call from New York informing us of a great victory. The Security Council, which represents every nation throughout the world, has just now passed an important resolution, under the terms of which the Belgian troops must leave the territory of our republic tomorrow, or day after tomorrow at the very latest. The independent pseudo-government of Katanga, second, will never at any time be recognized by the United Nations. Katanga belongs entirely to the Republic of the Congo. The secretary-general of the United Nations, who will arrive in Leo this coming Monday, will make it his particular duty to see to it that the integrity of our national territory is respected and that Belgian troops are evacuated. My dear compatriots, this is the victory that we have won today. As I have always said, the truth will triumph in the end. The truth is that the Congo, the country of our forefathers, belongs to us. And Katanga too.

I spoke to you on the radio two days ago. I told the international press that Belgium would fail. And that her plots against us would fail too. And Belgium has, in fact, suffered a humiliating defeat today in the United Nations.

Belgium went there to accuse us. Belgium went there to accuse our government. Belgium sent us occupation troops. The entire world has rendered us justice. The entire world has said that we are right. The despoilers of our wealth, the instigators of the plan for the secession of Katanga, the criminals who have destroyed the friendship between the Congo and Belgium, a friend and a Christian nation, will regret having been so stupid. Our brother Tshombe, who tried to serve the interests of our enemies, the interests of for-

eigners, the interests of the colonialists of Katanga, the interests of selfish men rather than the interests of his country, of his native land, of his black brothers, will be judged by the people tomorrow. The people of Katanga who send us telegrams every day telling us of their disapproval of Tshombe and condemning his criminal acts, will rejoice today to learn that Katanga is still part of a united Congo. The people of Katanga who feared that the Congo [sic] would dominate this province will rejoice today to learn that the United Nations does not approve of what Belgium has done. I invite each of you to drink a glass of beer tonight to celebrate this victory. We have no bitterness toward the Belgians; we are going to prove tomorrow that the Congo is a peace-loving country, and our people a patient people, a decent people, who want only to live in peace with whites.

We know very well that many Belgians in Belgium do not approve of the policy of the government in power at all.

When we go to Belgium, we are always welcomed with open arms by the Belgians, by their wives, by their children. We would like the Belgians who remain among us, the Belgians of good will, to be protected too, to be welcomed in the same way that they have welcomed us in their country. Those who regard the Congo only as a country to come fortune-hunting in, those who see in the Congo only a chance to share in the dividends of colonial companies, a few selfish financial groups, the government in power in Belgium — these are the people who were at the bottom of this plot and this situation we are going through today.

It is the Belgian ambassador who is partly responsible for what is happening today. Belgium recognized the independence of the Congo and established the Fundamental Law, which specifically states that the six present provinces constitute an indivisible and indissoluble political entity, and yet it is Belgium that has sent occupation troops to Katanga. It is Belgium that has sent a special envoy to Tshombe; it is Belgium that has instigated the secession of Katanga, for the one purpose of keeping the Union Minière, of

having control of our country. We urge all the people in this country to remain calm, and to follow our instructions. We want Europeans to stay here with us, especially technicians, engineers, teachers, agronomists, and so on. . . . We want technicians to stay. People who are not indispensable should go back to their own country.

The chief of state and I went to Katanga. The Belgians drove us away. As we were circling the airfield in Katanga at ten o'clock at night, they turned out the lights and told us that Katanga was independent. Since we wanted to go to Kamina, we left our plane. They drove us to Luluabourg by car, as if we had been prisoners. We had been planning to make important appointments within the army, the police force, and the administration.

We want all territorial administrators throughout the country to be Congolese; we want all district commissioners to be Congolese. A plot has been hatched with the fascists of Katanga to ensure that it will be Belgians who continue to hold these posts. They are trying to set up an economic dictatorship in Katanga, contrary to the interests of the popular masses. Our brother Tshombe will regret this. Katanga will never be independent; Katanga remains a Congolese province, a province of our republic. Those who have hatched plots against our republic, those who have launched this attack against the external safety of our state, will be brought before the bar of justice of our republic. The chief of state and I have pledged our solemn word to the entire nation that we will safeguard the unity and the integrity of this country. It is this unity, this strength, which will make the Congo a great power, a great nation, in the heart of Black Africa. People have tried to cause dissension between the chief of state and me. For to divide is to rule. We realized this. Therefore there is perfect accord between the chief of state, Mr. Kasavubu, and myself; we have exactly the same opinions and think exactly alike, and not so much as a needle could be slipped between us in our relations. This has given us the strength to travel throughout the country, braving heat, cold, and hunger, to get closer to the

masses, to speak with our people, at the risk of our lives, and thus far escape all attempts made on them, and this strength, this unity between the chief of state and myself is what constitutes the strength of the Congo today. It is this unity which has led us to protest to the United Nations day after day, demanding the immediate departure of the Belgian troops, of the enemy troops, of the occupation troops; and the United Nations has listened to us today, and we have said that if there was no way of obtaining immediate satisfaction, we would ask for Soviet and Afro-Asiatic troops. We are not now communists and we never will be, despite the campaign of destruction and obstruction that enemies of our independence have waged throughout the country. We are simply Africans. We do not want to subject ourselves to any foreign influence, we want nothing to do with any imported doctrines, whether from the West, from Russia, or from America. The Congo remains the Congo. We are Africans. We want to make the Congo a great free nation. We do not want to escape one dictatorship only to fall beneath another. We are not what people think we are, because we are a decent people.

We are honest; if we had wanted to sell our country out, to get money from imperialists, as they have offered, there would be no change, there would be no problems today. Because we want to serve the interests of our people, of our nation, nothing matters to us except defending our country and serving the nation. Those who want to make deals with the capitalists can do so; that is their business; those who want to make millions can do so; that is their business, and they are the ones who will have a guilty conscience. Dear brothers, you can now see the benefits of unity. We ask our deputies, our senators, all the people to unite, to follow our example, so that as children of this united country, workers and intellectuals, rich and poor, adults and children, boys and girls, all of us together may build a great Congo, a strong Congo, so as to liberate the rest of Africa, to liberate our brothers who are still under foreign domination; dear brothers, the work that we are pursuing, the work of

national liberation, of building the country, is a work that I might rightly call a divine work; we must forgive those who are attacking us today. We must live with the Europeans who remain among us as brothers. We must welcome them to our country; our enemies will depart.

We are going to expel all undesirable elements, those who still want to mistreat you, who still want to oppress you. We will allow only friends to stay here with us, Belgians and Europeans of good will, of good faith, those who realize that the Congo has changed, that the Congo belongs to the Congolese, that the Congolese must run their own country. These people must stay, and we will also call on other nations, on other Belgians in Belgium, who obviously do not approve of what the members of the government in power are doing in their attempt to see to it that the Congo remains a conquered country — isn't that right?

I am going to the United States today with a delegation of your leaders. We are going to establish contact with many groups with regard to problems concerning industrialization and the development of our country. Many technicians have left. Our courts have no magistrates today. There has been blackmail. People have tried to sabotage our independence; but we are still on our feet. We are going to tighten our belts and prove that, like the United States, our country will be built by the labor of its sons and not by holding out our hands and begging here and there.

You know about the French Revolution; France was built with the labor of each of its men and women citizens. The Belgian Revolution in 1830 drove the Dutch out of the country; the Belgians have worked hard and everybody has said that Belgians are an industrious people; we Congolese people are a great nation too, greater than Belgium, richer than Belgium, and tomorrow we will prove that we can build our country through the effort of each and every one of us without begging for money anywhere; this is the only way that we can save this great country, dear brothers, dear sisters, dear citizens. This is the message I bring you a few hours before leaving

for the United States: remain united, drink, have a good time, celebrate our victory tonight, rejoice, celebrate the departure of the enemies of our country tonight, and when I come back with technicians, with teachers, with engineers for all the necessary cadres, we will then send the best of our sons abroad to learn, so that in five years the Congo may have its own technicians in every field. The enemies who are sabotaging us today will knock on the Congo's doors tomorrow to ask for hospitality and we will tell them: the Congolese people are a proud people who feel no bitterness. You can come back here, dear brothers. I urge you to follow this watchword and rejoice, and not treat the Europeans cruelly or raise a hue and cry against them, but rather make them feel at home in our country.

A new climate is needed today to get our economy going again; the strife must cease; this disorder was caused by our enemies, and it is my belief that your leaders have protected your interests today and that you will listen to us. You blacks and whites in our country — all of us are going to build our country together.

Long live the Republic of the Congo!

Long live freedom!

Immediately upon his arrival in the United States, on July 25, Lumumba called a press conference.

PRESS CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK

Gentlemen of the press, I am pleased to be here with you to tell you about the problems of the Congo. I came to the United States to meet with the secretary-general of the United Nations and give him an objective report on the causes of events in the Congo and ask his help in removing Belgian troops from the territory of our republic forthwith, so that peace may be immediately restored. Peace will not be restored as long as Belgian troops remain in the Congo.

The restoring of order and peace in the Congo depends on the withdrawal of these troops. I am going to give you a very brief report, because I would rather spend this time answering questions you want to ask me. International opinion must have all the necessary information about the situation in the Congo. The truth must be established. Many of you know about the Congo or the events in the Congo through dispatches from news agencies. These dispatches sometimes contain things that are not true.

The Belgian press, the Belgian news agency, has deliberately waged a campaign to mislead public opinion, and their reports of these incidents have been grossly exaggerated. But the truth has come to light today. As you know, the Congo was colonized by Belgium for eighty years. We lived in sincere friendship with the Belgians for eighty years. And when the Belgians came to our country, we welcomed them with open arms. Even today the Belgians who live among our people have not complained about the behavior of Africans. While the French and the English were endeavoring to bring about the political emancipation of the territories under their rule, the Belgian administration did nothing. I do admit, on the other hand, that progress was made from the point of view of the economic and social development of the Congo. We recognize the efforts made by the Belgians and the foreigners who settled in our country. But nothing was done to bring about the political emancipation of the Congolese. We waged a desperate struggle to free our country from its colonial status, to make the Congo a free continent, an independent country. Our policy was based on nonviolence, and all our efforts were made in this spirit; and despite persecution, arbitrary arrests, and prison sentences, we never lost heart. We fought to the very end, until Belgium recognized our right to self-determination. We met together at a Round Table Conference in Belgium, and thanks to this conference it was decided that the Congo would attain its independence on June 30, 1960. We went back to the Congo; a General Executive College

and provincial committees were set up to take over the political and administrative direction of the Congo from the month of January to June 30. We worked within this college, and recommended many reforms that were never carried out. From the month of January to the month of June, 1960, the Belgian administration, the Belgian government, did almost nothing to make the transfer of power to the Congolese easier. Cadres were not set up, as in other colonies when the administration in power decides that the country will be granted its independence.

Throughout Africa, in all the countries that have won their independence, their attainment of independence has always been preceded by a period of organization, but nothing of the sort was done in the Congo. We attained our national sovereignty on June 30. On July 1, not a single official position was in the hands of Africans. The administration, the police, the army were still absolutely and entirely, one hundred percent, in the hands of Belgian officials. Naturally, there was immediate discontent. Military personnel demanded reforms in the army. Long before independence we asked General Janssens, the commander-in-chief of the Force Publique, on three occasions to give us a plan for organizing and Africanizing the army. Each time he told us, in the presence of the governor-general, that he did not approve of the reforms we had in mind, and that only a responsible government formed on the basis of the election returns could draw up new regulations for the army. We were patient, and the government came to power on June 30. As prime minister and minister of national defense, I told the general again that reforms absolutely had to be instituted, and that if these reforms were not made immediately, we might very well be faced with an army revolt within a few days, because the military believed that independence was benefiting only the civilian cadres. As a matter of fact, we did have Congolese as provincial counselors, as deputies, as senators, and as ministers, among them the chief of state. But there had been no promotions in the army. I received

complaints from the military every day; I received visits every day, and each time I mentioned this to the general or to Colonel van Hoorebeck, my chief adviser for national defense. And my proposals were flatly rejected each time. The general told the military that "there could be no change in the army." And I can assure you that the discontent of the Congolese military was fostered and provoked by Belgian officers.

A few days later, there was a mutiny, as you all know. This revolt was not entirely motivated by hatred of the Belgian officers; it was also a legitimate complaint, resulting from the serious psychological and political errors committed by the Belgian government and the Belgian officers. As soon as these incidents occurred, the chief of state and I immediately personally visited military camps in the Lower Congo, Thysville, Matadi, Banane, Moanda, and Boma, to make an on-the-spot investigation and proceed to appoint Congolese. When we arrived in Matadi, we were accompanied by the minister of justice, and we gave specific instructions to the Belgian magistrates to open an immediate investigation. The consul-general had informed us that white women had been insulted, and we said that if inadmissible acts had in fact been committed against white women by either Europeans or Africans, the government and the courts should take immediate steps. Because our government must protect all nationals and all foreigners equally, with no distinction between them whatsoever, and we must see that order is restored throughout the country. The magistrates were given instructions to that effect. There are no black magistrates in the Congo. The entire corps of magistrates is in the hands of the Belgians. Although we gave such instructions and insisted that immediate measures be taken, there were no arrests. And this would lead us to believe that the facts brought to our attention were not absolutely true. The Belgian minister of foreign affairs came before the Security Council here to declare that white women had been raped. I apologize for using this word, but it was precisely the one that was employed

and I would like the truth to be established. But to date no guilty party has been arrested, even though the magistrates, who are all Belgians, have every power at their disposal, and even though we have given instructions to this effect.

Lies have been circulated to discredit our government, our country. The Congolese people are a decent people. Not a single European has been killed in our country for eighty years, because the black man had no desire to do so. Europeans have lived among us for eighty years, but they have never been bothered even in remote parts of the country. What has happened in the Congo has happened all over the world. The populace as a whole has not participated in these disturbances. The populace has remained calm and continues to trust its leaders. For us Congolese, independence does not mean the expulsion of Europeans or the expropriation of their property. The independence that we have fought to win merely means that we must govern ourselves and build our country, in harmony, collaboration, and friendship with the Belgians and the foreigners who have settled among us.

Ever since it has taken over, our government has consistently taken a position in favor of maintaining proper relations with all friendly countries. This position remains a firm one, as does our friendship with the Belgian people. We have no desire to attack Belgium as a country in any way. When we have visited Belgium, we have always been welcomed with open arms by the Belgians, by Belgian women and children and all classes of people. And when the Belgians came to our country, they were also warmly welcomed. We ourselves invited the king of the Belgians and the highest officials of Belgium to attend the ceremonies celebrating our independence. Even though it was predicted that the worst sort of things would happen on the thirtieth of June, there was absolute calm. Independence was proclaimed amid the greatest happiness and enthusiasm. Whites and blacks alike celebrated our independence. We welcomed the king of the Belgians and his entourage to

our country, and there were no incidents. We freely signed a treaty of friendship and aid with the Belgian government; we were subjected to no pressure whatsoever.

What explanation is there for the fact that incidents occurred a few days later? How can we be accused of being against the Belgians when we ourselves signed this treaty only yesterday? There is a reason for this, and this reason has been kept hidden from you. You have been given a false picture of the problems of the Congo. Gentlemen of the press, what we have done in our country is what has been done in every country. You may recall the revolution that took place here in America; a people that had long been colonized had to fight for liberation, and it was because of this noble struggle that the American people have become what they are today and that all the citizens here in America, the country of freedom and justice, have pooled their efforts to build their great nation. There is also the example of the French Revolution; there was no question of blacks or whites involved in this case, but the French had to fight to put an end to injustice and exploitation. And we know what France has accomplished today thanks to this fight for its freedom. We also know what Belgium did to free itself from foreign domination; Belgium became independent in 1830 as a result. There was also the Russian Revolution. They too had to fight for their freedom. And today Africa is fighting for its freedom.

I can assure you that there is no hatred for the white man in the Congo. What we have rebelled against, and will continue to rebel against, is injustice, unjustified domination, being hoodwinked. The Congolese people are a peace-loving people, who want only to live in peace and friendship with Europeans and with citizens of any and every nationality. We thank the Security Council, which voted unanimously in favor of Belgian troops withdrawing from the Congo. This unanimous vote truly proves that the spirit that moved all the nations represented on the Security Council is one of friendship and solidarity toward the Congo and all of Africa. Under the terms of the treaty that we signed with the Belgian government on June 29,

article 6 provides that Belgian troops will not intervene in any way in the Congo except at the express request of the Congolese government. Our government has at no time made such a request. Even if at a certain juncture we found it difficult to ensure the protection of the inhabitants of the country, the only thing the Belgian government could do was to propose that troops be sent. And by the terms of this treaty, it was up to us to request the intervention, the help of Belgium. But Belgium made no effort to consult us. Three or four days after it was signed, Belgium trampled this treaty underfoot; the Belgian government violated this treaty. It sent occupation troops into our country, under the absolutely false pretext that it was thus protecting Belgians. Though the fault lay entirely with the Belgian government, it took advantage of the troubles that had occurred in the Congo because it had not created cadres and had granted us independence with no preparation whatsoever. It was entirely this government's fault that it had granted us independence without creating any sort of cadres.

And what does this treaty of friendship represent today besides hypocrisy and false pretenses? Belgian troops are pouring into the Congo, into every corner of the country, even in places where no European has ever been threatened. And the first thing the troops do when they arrive is open fire on Congolese troops, kill soldiers, and seize arms and ammunition that belong to our army, arms that have been bought with our money. And the Congo today lives in an atmosphere of terror and unrest.

The chief of state and I bring order wherever we go. Two days later Belgian troops arrive to wreck what we have managed to achieve.

The situation in Katanga is the result of a coup planned several months in advance by the Belgian government. Mr. Tshombe is being used as a propaganda tool, as a screen; for Belgium intends to keep the Union Minière, to have control of our country. We have proof of this. I receive telegrams every day from Katanga. The overwhelming majority of the population roundly condemns the Bel-

gian government and Tshombe for having committed the criminal act of declaring Katanga an independent country. Here in the United States, as throughout the world, international opinion is being misled: the secession of Katanga is being passed off as the expression of the will of the people of this province. This is completely untrue. If a referendum were to be organized in Katanga to determine whether the people were for secession, it would be evident that this population does not favor secession but rather the unity of the country. The most tangible proof that this is a coup planned by the Belgian government is the fact that it sent a Belgian general to Katanga not long ago to act as commander-in-chief of Katangese troops. The second proof is that the Belgian government has just sent a special envoy to Katanga to contact Mr. Tshombe. The third proof is the fact that on our way from Luluabourg to Elisabethville, the chief of state and I landed in Kamina and asked the commandant of the base there who had authorized the sending of troops to Luluabourg and elsewhere, since he knew very well that a treaty had been signed. When we landed in Kamina, Belgian soldiers there insulted us and called us "apes" and "hoodlums." The Belgians who called themselves our friends insulted the two of us, the chief of a sovereign state and the head of government, publicly, on our own soil. We left Kamina for Elisabethville. We arrived at ten o'clock at night, and when we tried to land, the Belgian troops turned out the lights on the airfield. They told the chief of state and me that if we got off the plane we would be taken prisoner, because Katanga had declared its independence and was occupied by Belgian troops. We insisted that we had to land, but the pilot told us he couldn't bring the plane down because he couldn't see the airfield. We were forced to turn back without landing, and ten minutes later the pilot told us he had received orders to take us directly back to Luluabourg, even though we had planned to land in Kamina and take our plane from there. We were taken away like prisoners. We then went to Kindu and all over the country to restore order, and when we got to Leopoldville we met

General Cumont, who told the chief of state and me that he could take us prisoner because the N'Djili airport belonged to him and was under his control. Just today, a few minutes before I arrived here, I received a cablegram informing me that the Belgian government has just appointed a chief of staff for Tshombe and that this general has made a statement to the effect that he may stay in the Congo for eighteen months.

Gentlemen of the press, this is proof that it is not Africans who are behind what is transpiring in Katanga. Contrary to what is being publicly said every day, Mr. Tshombe is not the prime minister of Katanga; he is using that title illegally. And the Belgian press calls him by that title so as to mislead international opinion and make people believe that Mr. Tshombe is prime minister. He is not prime minister; he is president of the Provincial Government, which merely enjoys administrative autonomy within the framework of the Fundamental Law set up by the Belgian government. The province of Katanga and the other five provinces of the Congo form an indissoluble whole. And according to the Fundamental Law, which is the product of the resolutions of the Brussels Round Table, the conference attended by the leaders of Katanga, including Mr. Tshombe, it is specifically stated that the Congo and its six present provinces constitute an indissoluble and indivisible political entity. And it was with this political and economic unity that the Congo attained its international sovereignty. And it is unthinkable that there should be talk of an independent Katanga when Katanga is part of the Republic of the Congo. It is as if someone were to say that a part of France had become independent today; that is nonsense. It is as if the province of Antwerp in Belgium were now said to be independent; that is nonsense. Belgium thus intends to have Katanga, the richest province, because she cannot exist without Katanga and the Congo, as she herself has said. It is our wish, however, and the will of our people, to defend our territorial integrity. The Congo will not be divided in any way; the Congo will remain united. And that is what will make the Congo

a great power in the heart of Africa. I have had the pleasure of talking with the secretary-general of the United Nations, and I have had the pleasure of reading the secretary-general's reply to Mr. Tshombe. In this reply, the secretary-general told him that recognizing the independence of Katanga was out of the question since Katanga was an integral part of the Republic of the Congo, and that this was his position and the position of the United Nations Organization, of the Security Council. And we are very pleased at this.

The Congo does not want to live in isolation; we want to cooperate with every country in the world. We want the United States, France, Belgium, Great Britain, all the African countries, the Soviet Union — all nations willing to help us — to be able to do so, for the consolidation of our independence and the exploitation of the wealth of our country. We will turn no one away. The Congo is a country that holds out its hand to you. A fraternal hand. We recognize scientific, educational, and technical progress. I assure you that, contrary to what has been said, there is no feeling of hatred toward whites in the Congo; this was a localized incident and has not occurred anywhere except in the army; it is not a general trend. I can also tell you that the departure of Europeans has become a widespread, organized movement only to do harm to us. Photographers and newsreel cameramen and the like have been called to the scene so that everyone will get the wrong impression and say, "The Congolese are driving the Europeans out of the country." We in no way desired this massive departure of Europeans, and I have met with certain Belgian officials who have assured me that what has happened in the Congo is that many Belgian functionaries do not want to work under blacks, and this is true. The Belgian government took the position that all Belgian functionaries should remain in the Congo. But these functionaries asked to go back to Belgium to militate for equal status with blacks. Long before independence, many Belgian officials told me: we must be given a choice; every

functionary and every Belgian agent must be allowed to choose whether to remain in the Congo or go back to Belgium. And if we are not allowed such a choice, don't be surprised if there is sabotage in your administration tomorrow. And I was told that there were functionaries who were taking advantage of this situation for the sole purpose of getting equal status and saying that it was impossible for them to continue to serve in Africa and therefore planning to leave Africa en masse. You must not get the idea that all the Belgians who went back to Belgium were the victims of harassment. This is not true at all. We are quite ready to admit that there were certain Belgians who were badly shaken by this movement among the military. To date we have taken all necessary measures to protect Europeans and nationals. And that is why we called upon the United Nations to give us military assistance after these troubles broke out. UN troops have already arrived. But the Belgian troops refuse to leave the Congo even though UN troops have arrived. They are continuing to attack our republic. And if peace is threatened in the Congo today, it is not the fault of the Congolese; it is the fault of the Belgians. I assure you, gentlemen, I would even bet on it: if the Belgian troops leave the Congo today, order will be completely restored five minutes after they have gone, peace will be restored, and collaboration between blacks and whites as well.

But as long as Belgian troops remain in the Congo to pursue their action, their aggression, there will be no peace in the Congo. And that is why the president of the Chamber of Deputies, the vice-president of the Senate, a government delegation, and I have come here, in the name of the chief of state, in the name of Parliament, and in the name of all the people, to ask the secretary-general and the Security Council to see that Belgian troops leave the territory of our republic immediately. The only reason that Belgian troops are in the Congo is to provoke and excite the Congolese. Our people's patience is exhausted.

We are well aware that the political independence that we have

just won will not benefit the Congo, our country, if it is not immediately accompanied by swift and harmonious economic development.

Our program today is to develop the wealth of our country, to put everyone to work, because money is not going to fall from heaven just because our country has become independent. And we plan to create vast cooperatives throughout the country to put an end to a subsistence economy for our people. To create a national rural economy that is prosperous and stable. And we have asked the technical assistance of the United Nations so that we may begin studies, review the economic potentialities of the country, and create new cadres. And I am convinced, I am optimistic, that with our program, with our determination, and with the help already promised us by friendly countries, the Congo will soon resume its normal life, within a very few months. And in a year, in two years, when the representatives of the international press corps come to the Congo, they will find a joyous people, a peace-loving people there in the center of Africa, who will hold out their hand to them. And that is exactly what our government and our people intend to do.

There are those who have said that our government was incapable of working and that it was incompetent. Gentlemen, that is nothing but propaganda. Here in the United States and elsewhere we have been made out to be individuals whose only program was to destroy whites and drive them out of our country. This is not true at all. We are not what people think we are; we are simply nationalists, nationalists who have long fought and will continue to fight to make our country a really free and independent country. We are simply nationalists, exactly like the American nationalists who led a liberation movement; we are exactly like the French, Russian, or Belgian nationalists, because throughout the world it has always been a mere handful of leaders who have guided their countries. We are not against anybody.

Everything in Africa that is progressive, everything that leads to

progress, is said to be destructive and communist. People would like us to continue to bow and scrape and accept everything offered us, everything the colonialists offer us. People try to buy you. But we are decent, honest men; we don't want to fool anybody; our one goal has been to liberate our country, to build a free and independent nation. This is the truth that people have attempted to trample underfoot; this truth can be concealed, but in the end it will always triumph. Our policy is positive neutralism. We will accept no aid from countries that seek to institute a new regime of domination in our country. We have no desire to get out from under one colonial regime only to fall under another dictatorship. We do not want a dictatorship in our country, we want democracy, the sort of genuine democracy we see here in the United States, for instance, where every sort of philosophy is respected, where the dignity and the rights of each and all are respected; that is what we want to do in the Congo.

We are against dictatorship because we are a people who have long been the victims of oppression. A nation is never built in bitterness. What is done is done. If the Belgians were wise, if the Belgians were understanding, if the Belgians were good psychologists, what is happening today could have been avoided. We have held out the fraternal hand of a brotherly people, but they have refused to take it and unleashed a campaign of incredible repression. The Congo, a sovereign and independent country, has been occupied militarily by Belgium. We will not tolerate this, any more than France or the United States or any other nation would.

It is in the name of religion, gentlemen, in the name of the universal conscience of civilization that you have taught us to protest against such unjust aggression, against such domination, and we shall continue to protest. And we hope that international opinion will be enlightened; it must be. I am confident that the integrity of the press, as here represented, will ensure that the truth comes to light. There has been a well-planned campaign to put the problems of the Congo in a false light throughout the world, in the American

press, in the French press, on the radio. This, gentlemen, amounts to a lack of charity toward Africa. The African continent as a whole is not opposed to the West. Africa is not opposed to the United States, Africa is not opposed to the Soviet Union, Africa is against no one; Africa merely asks these powers to recognize its rights, its right to independence and dignity. This is what Africa asks of you, gentlemen. And if you will answer Africa's call, a call to fraternity in dignity, freedom, and legality, if foreign powers can sincerely answer this call from Africa, I can assure you that international peace will be safeguarded, that in a very short while there will be no more talk of blacks or whites, but of citizens of humanity all pursuing the same goal, the progress of mankind. These few words are what I wanted to say to you and put before you. I am at your disposal to answer any questions you may want to ask me.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, what can you tell us about your plans in Canada and the United States, and what officials of the American government do you wish to see in particular in Washington?

A. I have come to the United States primarily to contact the secretary-general and ask his help in getting the Belgian troops to leave our country immediately, and I have announced my intention of going on to Canada. I will also go to Washington to pay my respects to President Eisenhower and thank him for the American people's continued efforts to bring about progress in Africa. I did not come here to contact any private group whatsoever, but I will meet with any group, with any individual wishing to contact me to discuss any question regarding our country.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, have you asked the secretary-general of the United Nations to take any further steps to hasten the withdrawal of Belgian troops, above and beyond the wishes expressed in the resolution adopted last week by the Security Council?

A. I have asked the secretary-general to speed up the withdrawal of Belgian troops. I told him that the Security Council had passed a resolution on July 14 requesting the withdrawal of Belgian troops, and that since that time the Belgian government has taken no steps

in that direction, and that on July 22 the Security Council confirmed this same resolution and asked the secretary-general to take all necessary steps to ensure that these troops leave the country. And I informed the secretary-general that my purpose in coming here was not to engage in possibly long-drawn-out negotiations; there is only one problem that must be solved: Belgian troops are now in the Congo, and many nations have answered the call of the United Nations; there is thus no reason, no justification for Belgian troops remaining in the Congo any longer. And I asked him if he could give me a deadline for the complete evacuation of Belgian troops. The secretary-general assured me that he will spare no effort, and that is why he is going to Brussels tomorrow to contact the Belgian government and proceed from there to Leopoldville next Thursday. I am going to meet with him after my brief stay here; the secretary-general will be in Leopoldville again on August 5 to meet with me, and I might add that, according to the assurances that the secretary-general has given me, I know that he understands the seriousness of the problem and appreciates how urgent it is to evacuate all the Belgian troops from the Congo.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, I would like to ask you a question about Mr. Detwiller, who has been very much in the limelight during the last few days. Can you tell us when you first contacted him? Was it before the rebellion? And exactly what sort of agreement have you signed with him for the moment?

A. The person you mention arrived in Leopoldville a short time ago. He told me of his desire to present a plan to develop the Congo's power resources. I told him I didn't see any reason why he should not do so, because what interests those of us in the government is the rational development of the resources of our country. We simply informed him that we agreed in principle, because the government must study its program, its future plans in detail, and I cannot submit this project to Parliament for approval until the Ministerial Commission has presented me with its conclusions. Thus the only thing that the gentleman you mention has presented is a

proposal for a simple exploratory mission. There has been no definite agreement because Parliament has yet to discuss this program; he came just as anybody else might come to the Congo tomorrow to ask me to do this or that; I would agree, so long as it was compatible with the interests of our country and the negotiations were open and aboveboard.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, with regard to the withdrawal of Belgian troops, I would like to know if concrete requests were made of the Belgians, whereby they would withdraw from certain regions and United Nations troops would replace them, and I would like to know if the Belgians refused to honor these requests.

A. We sent more than four — or rather I should say five — diplomatic notes to the Belgian government asking it to withdraw its troops. The first official request was dated July 11. It was signed by the chief of state and myself; and in this modest document we asked first of all that the Belgian troops retreat to the bases that had been granted them, namely, those in Kitona and Kamina, and that the Belgian troops definitely leave the Congo the next day, the twelfth, because we had decided that their presence was not at all necessary, since we had asked for UN troops and they had already arrived. We made the same request again. The Parliament met, and the Chamber of Deputies voted unanimously to demand the immediate withdrawal of the Belgian troops within twelve hours; this was on July 15. On July 16 the Senate met and unanimously passed a second motion calling for the immediate withdrawal of Belgian troops. The two Chambers also called for the breaking off of all diplomatic relations with Belgium until its troops had left the Congo. In each case we informed the Belgian government and the secretary-general of the United Nations of these decisions. The assistant secretary-general, Mr. Bunche, who is now in Leopoldville, also informed the Belgian government of this. But the Belgian government refused to bow either to the sovereign decisions made by our government or to the Security Council. The Belgian government still refuses to do so. Both the United Nations and our government

have exhausted every means of peaceful negotiation, and we are today confronting obvious bad faith on the part of the Belgian government.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, do you intend to visit other countries besides the United States and Canada to ask for economic assistance?

A. I myself do not have much time at my disposal because I must go back to Leopoldville immediately, for many problems await me there. But we are going to dispatch another economic mission empowered to visit countries outside the Congo. But this will be another delegation; I myself don't have much time.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, when the Belgian troops withdraw, do you think the UN troops ought to withdraw also or should they remain for a couple of weeks or so?

A. After the Belgian troops have withdrawn, we would like the UN troops to remain in the Congo, first of all to help restore order completely, and then to help our young army get organized. And when we decide that the presence of UN troops is no longer necessary, we will inform the secretary-general so that he may recall them.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, it was reported in *The New York Times* that you had signed a contract with the Congo International Management Company. Is it true that you signed an agreement with Mr. Detwiller?

A. I repeat the answer I gave a little while ago. I told you that we had reached an agreement in principle, because we don't want to keep anybody out of our country, and that the project presented by this gentleman will be the object of a study by the Ministerial Commission, and then the entire matter will be submitted to Parliament; a definite agreement will not be signed until Parliament has approved the project.

Q. If I understand correctly, and if many of my colleagues understand correctly, when the Belgian troops say that they will withdraw, they will not leave the Congo entirely but rather will withdraw to the interior of the country, to what they call their military bases.

I would like to ask you a question in two parts: Do you recognize their right to withdraw to these bases? And do you recognize the treaty whereby they claim this right?

A. I can answer that the intentions of the Belgian government are exactly what you say they are. The Belgian troops do not want to leave the Congo. They want instead to withdraw to these bases — Kitona and Kamina. Our government has called for the immediate evacuation of these bases. The Belgian government has no right to set up bases in our country, any more than it would have the right to set up bases in the United States, France, or Great Britain without the approval of the governments of these countries. We are a sovereign state; we have attained international sovereignty. The second paragraph of article 6 of the treaty we signed with the Belgian government specifies the terms under which we can take over these bases. Our government has therefore expressed a desire to take over these foreign bases, because we do not approve of their existence in our country. The Belgian government thus has no right to them, and I believe that the United Nations Organization and international opinion agree with us that this is a flagrant attack on our international sovereignty, and that is why I have come here to inform you about all these problems.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, could you tell us how long you are willing to wait for Belgian troops to withdraw from these bases and from the Congo in general? If the Belgian government does not respect your deadline, your time limit, are you prepared to ask the Soviet Union or any other country for troops to help you expel them?

A. As of now, the Security Council has passed a second resolution requesting that Belgian troops withdraw immediately. In view of this unanimous decision on the part of the Security Council, which represents all the nations of the world, I cannot doubt its intentions or those of the secretary-general. And I am convinced that the Belgian troops must bow to the decision of the Security Council and leave our territory immediately. And I might add that Belgium's stubbornness does her no honor, for instead of realizing

that she has everything to gain if she renews her friendly relations with us, the Belgian government continues to dig in deeper and deeper and widen the gap between our two countries. And we know that even if its position is becoming more and more rigid today, Belgium will capitulate in the end. But it will be too late then to think of the friendship between our two peoples. It is Belgium who must choose: she must either break with the Congo once and for all or renew relations. And if she chooses the second path, there is only one solution: to withdraw all her troops from the country immediately, including her bases.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, several statesmen have recently seen evidences of a link between the fate of the world and that of Africa today. Our prime minister, Mr. Nehru, for instance, has said that Africa, which until now has lain in chains and been subject to foreign pressure, was breaking these chains and beginning a new era, the era of Africa in the world. Last week Mr. Hammarskjöld, speaking of the question of the Congo in the Security Council, said that the future of this organization, that is to say the United Nations, was linked to the future of Africa, and given the conditions that obtain at present, Africa could well mean the world. As one of the great leaders of Africa today, sir, would you be so kind as to comment on these statements by the secretary-general and Mr. Nehru, our prime minister?

A. I can make the following comment, which more or less corresponds to what I said a little while ago, that Africa is not opposed to the West, to the United States, to the Soviet Union, or to any other nation, that Africa has asked only one thing, to be liberated completely so that we may collaborate with the West in total freedom. And if I were to make a further interpretation of this statement, it would be along these lines. I have emphasized this in other terms: if Belgium still wishes to do so, she can maintain her friendship with the Congolese people and with other African peoples as well. Because I am aware that certain countries of Africa have broken off ties of friendship with Belgium today due to the problem of

the Congo. And I must say that if the United Nations fails in the Congo, it will fail all over Africa. Because Africa will not forgive the United Nations for not having found a swift solution. Because the problem of the Congo is the problem of Africa. We want Africa to be free, to be a great continent like all the other continents. And it is up to the West to choose.

Q. You say that you are asking for the immediate withdrawal of Belgian troops from the Congo; how long will you wait? What deadline do you have in mind?

A. When I say that the Belgian troops are to leave immediately, it would be fine if they left tomorrow. But if they left today, it would be even better.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, what do you think of the idea that has been proposed to make the Congo a federal union, the United States of the Congo?

A. I don't know who proposed this. We do not want a federated Congo; we want a united Congo. There may or may not be confederations between the independent African countries, but within the Congo we want to have a single, united country.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, in reply to other questions, you seem to have counted a great deal on Canada; can you tell us when you are going to Canada, and what you hope to obtain from this country?

A. I will probably go to Canada some time this week. I want to go to Canada because this country has long attracted me and I have very special feelings toward it. I hope to be able to meet friends there and see if I can't find French-speaking technicians there who would like to come to work in the Congo.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, how do you propose to resolve the question posed by the secession of Katanga?

A. The secretary-general of the United Nations has told me that he does not consider Katanga independent but rather a Congolese state of the Republic of the Congo. I told you just now that this is a plot hatched by Belgium. There is no Katangese problem; the one problem is the withdrawal of Belgian troops. I can also tell you that

the consul-general of Equateur Province attempted to threaten and pressure the president of the Provincial Government of Coquilhatville into signing a document proclaiming the independence of Equateur and told him that Belgium would put Belgian troops at his disposal as had just been done in Katanga. And the president of the government of Equateur was not at all willing; I have this document in my possession. This shows that Belgium is making efforts throughout the country to provoke an explosive breakup in the Congo. There is no problem of Katanga; there is only the problem of the Belgian troops operating today in the Congo.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, when you spoke of the foreign policy of the Congo just now, you said that it is a policy aimed at positive neutrality, at the recognition of the rights and dignity of man. I would like to ask you a question, as follows: what is the attitude of the Congolese government with regard to other liberation movements in Africa, in Algeria for instance, and are you planning on recognizing the Algerian Provisional Government?

A. In the eyes of our government, Algeria is a brother people, a brother people fighting for its freedom and dignity. And we are watching this heroic and noble fight of the Algerian people with sympathy. Our wish, our most ardent desire is to give Algeria our moral support so that she may attain her independence, and to urge France to recognize the sacred right of the Algerian people to govern themselves within the framework of friendship between peoples and the principle laid down in the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, are you expecting economic aid from the Soviet Union, and what is your attitude with regard to communism?

A. For us Congolese people, the Soviet Union is a nation like any other. Questions of ideology do not interest us. Our policy of positive neutralism allows us to deal with any nation that has noble intentions and would not come into our country with the aim of setting up another regime that would dominate us. I am going to be even more specific about my intentions in this regard, because

there is so much talk about two blocs. The question of these two blocs doesn't interest us either. What interests us is the human element; we are Africans and we shall remain Africans. We have our philosophy and our code of ethics and we are proud of them.

Q. Since the Congo has been a Belgian colony up until now, is your republic going to seek special commercial ties with the Common Market countries in Europe now that it is independent?

A. Our government in no way refuses to collaborate with any group that can contribute to the economic expansion of our young republic.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, I would like to ask you two questions. The Congo is short of people familiar with Western techniques, and in view of this situation, I would like to know if you envisage calling for the help of black Americans. And I would also like to know whether individuals can offer their services to the government of the Congo and how they can do so.

A. As for American blacks, we will receive them in our country with great pleasure and fellow-feeling. You know that even the uneducated people in our country think of their American brothers all the time and keep saying: some day or other our brothers in America will come to Africa. And if there are technicians among black Americans, they can write us personally, and they will be welcomed with open arms in our country.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, there are about three thousand people of Greek extraction among the European population in your country. Would you please tell me if you have any information on what is happening to them and what the future intentions of your government are toward them?

A. The Greeks are warmly regarded by all the people of the Congo because they have never meddled in political affairs. And the Greeks have contributed a great deal to the economic development of the country, and up to now those who live among us have been very happy and are not at all worried.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, you told us just now that you have come to ask Mr. Hammarskjöld to take the necessary measures to get the Belgian troops out of your country. And you had a very long conversation with Mr. Hammarskjöld yesterday and another one this morning; there is thus reason to suppose that you discussed other matters with him besides the military problem. I asked the Secretariat just now to tell me what the subject of your conversation with Mr. Hammarskjöld was, and they told me: "We can't tell you anything; Mr. Lumumba will tell you all about it." Would you please tell me then what the subject of these conversations was?

A. We exchanged ideas on military matters for the most part, and then on other matters having to do with technical assistance, and tomorrow we are going to put out a general communiqué, which will inform you of the nature of the contacts that I have had with the secretary-general and the conclusions that we have arrived at.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, are you quite certain that the presence of the United Nations in the Congo will play the role and carry out the mission you spoke of, and in your opinion how much time will it take the United Nations troops to carry out this mission?

A. I am certain that the United Nations troops will have carried out their mission successfully if the Belgian troops withdraw. No definite time limit can be set at present, but I am certain that this matter will be settled as soon as possible if the Belgian troops withdraw in accordance with our wishes.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, could you tell us what the present status of the Belgian-Congolese treaty of friendship is and what the status of your diplomatic relations with Belgium is?

A. In the face of the violation of this treaty by Belgium, we have broken off all diplomatic relations with Belgium until its troops have left; after that we will reexamine the question of resuming relations. This treaty, moreover, has not been ratified by Parliament; since Belgium violated it and destroyed it, it no longer has any juridical or practical value to us.

Even more than the army mutinies, the secession of Katanga increasingly disrupted the country and interfered with its chances. In the "copper province," all opponents of secession (the Balubakat, unitarists, and Lumumbists alike) were arrested; Munongo's police killed a number of people, and Lumumba was warned that Belgian soldiers were directing these operations.

There were rumors in Leopoldville of plots to overthrow the Lumumba government; in a number of pro-Belgian circles there were moves to organize those opposed to it. A hypocritical and pernicious campaign developed in the press and in the Senate, accusing the head of government of favoring the establishment of a communist regime in the Congo. The press in Belgium violently attacked Kasavubu and Lumumba; secret agents spread rumors in an effort to turn the chief of state and the prime minister against each other. The problem of United Nations intervention aroused both hopes and fears. The appeal made to the USSR by the two leaders on July 14 had only one aim: to force the United Nations to speed up its efforts to aid the Congolese government in carrying out its duties.

On August 9, the day after his return to Leopoldville, Lumumba discussed this question once again, at his home. Here is a literal transcription of his tape-recorded statements.

PRESS CONFERENCE IN LEOPOLDVILLE

Belgian Military Intervention

Gentlemen of the press, the government has called this conference to inform the country and the entire world of its position, its determination, and its policy. We in the government solemnly proclaim in the name of the republic that we did not want to answer the Belgian government's aggression — for it is truly a question of aggression — with violence. The chief of state and I immediately appealed to the United Nations. The Security Council met to consider our request. And after having examined the situation in a spirit of objectivity, all the members of the Security Council unanimously

passed a resolution condemning the Belgian action in the Congo, sending United Nations troops, and requesting Belgium to withdraw its aggressive troops there. The Belgian government has not abided by this decision. It has claimed that it could not withdraw its troops until the United Nations troops had the situation in hand. I went to the United States to contact the Security Council and the secretary-general. The Security Council met a second time on July 22. It confirmed its previous decision and asked the secretary-general to take all necessary measures to carry out the resolution of the Security Council, in collaboration with the Congolese government.

The Belgian government again refused to abide by this decision. I was informed by the Secretariat of the United Nations before leaving New York that there were already 11,155 United Nations troops in the Congo, as against 10,000 Belgian soldiers. There is thus no possible explanation for the presence of Belgian troops. Belgium has found a new argument now and says that Tshombe called on Belgium to send him troops, whereas it previously said that they were there in order to protect Belgians. Thus the Belgian government has merely shifted the problem elsewhere. And the Security Council has asked all the nations of the world not to interfere in the country's internal affairs. And the unity and the territorial integrity of the republic must be safeguarded absolutely. All the members of the Security Council whom I contacted told me that Katanga will never be recognized as an independent state, that no nation will ever approve of the secession of Katanga, that no country will ever approve of the action of Belgium in the Congo.

Against Secession

The unitary structure of the Republic of the Congo has been recognized by the international powers, and the Congo today is a sovereign, unitary state, just as France, Great Britain, and the United States are. And in the eyes of the law there can be no question of Katanga or any other part breaking away.

I have already noted that Belgium's aim is to provoke the breakup

of the Congo by any possible means. Belgium has carried off our gold reserves from our bank; Belgium has carried off our money. Belgium now wants to set up a bank in Katanga with our funds. Thus the money of the Congolese people is being stolen so that Katanga may harvest the fruit of its effort to destroy the nation. Tshombe doesn't have a cent, and neither does his party. And the funds they are trying to set up in Katanga come from money that the Belgian government took out of our bank vaults and sent to Tshombe. In the entire history of colonization in Africa no nation has ever behaved so scandalously toward a people that has always lived in peace with it. Belgium is what it is, today because of the Congo. And it is a matter of life or death for Belgium. It is not the Congolese people who count in her eyes, it is not human lives that count; it is the Union Minière, it is the Congo's money that count. And that is the tragedy of the Congo.

I receive telegrams every day here in Leo, and I received them when I was in the United States, from people in Katanga crying mournfully: "Mr. Prime Minister, don't abandon us. Mr. Prime Minister, we ask the Central Government to send United Nations troops to us here in Katanga, to deliver us, because Belgium is planning to slaughter us here in Katanga." The Belgian government is now claiming that there are 20,000 of its citizens working in Katanga and that therefore it had a moral right to protect them.

The Congolese People and the Belgian People

This is absolutely false. No European is in danger in Katanga. And the Congolese people feel no hatred toward whites. The Union Minière has always run smoothly. The Congolese have always worked. And if the Union Minière is a success today, it is thanks to the labor of blacks, the majority of whom come from the five provinces of the Congo. And it is these blacks from the five provinces of the Congo who have developed Katanga. And after eighty years of fruitful collaboration, there is no reason to believe that the Con-

golese now want to massacre Belgians.* There is no reason to believe that the Congolese are now against the Belgians, but the Belgian government is well aware that Belgium cannot exist without the Congo, that without the Congo tens of thousands of Belgians would be out of a job in Belgium, that without the Congo Belgium will lose face. And may I say, in the name of the government, that Belgium will lose everything she has taken from us by force. But what she has obtained from us through friendship she will keep. The Congolese people, who feel no hatred, no hostility, toward Belgians and foreigners, are determined today to defend their interests because Katanga is our country. Katanga is our fatherland. The riches of Katanga are our riches. Everything in the Congo belongs to us. Belgium has carried on a campaign of lies and slander throughout the world. Press agencies have been mobilized to wage a campaign to disparage our government. The government is made out to be an incompetent government.

Against Any Form of Guardianship

It is claimed that the Congolese people are a people incapable of governing themselves, and certain Western nations have gone so far as to declare in the United Nations that the Congolese people are not mature enough to be independent. And certain people have tried to use the United Nations and get it to place the Congo under international rule, to get the United Nations to govern the country for fifteen years. This includes the Congolese press that has sold out to the imperialists, the Catholic press that writes that it wants all the cadres to be United Nations cadres, that everything that is done in the Congo ought to be done under the auspices of the United Nations. What they want now is reconquest. There has already been talk of this. Because the Congolese in the Congo are incapable, be-

* It must in fact be emphasized that only twelve Europeans were killed in this immense country in the course of all these dramatic events. More than half these deaths, moreover, occurred in Katanga. (Editor's note.)

cause there are no cadres, and since this is so, all the high-level posts in the administration, in finance, in the army ought to be held by the United Nations. And I say today, in the name of the government, in the name of the nation, that the Congo will never become a United Nations colony and will never be a country under the trusteeship of the United Nations. The Congo is a sovereign country, just like the Western countries and the United States. [Applause.]

And we forego any assistance from the United Nations. We want cooperation; we do not want charity. [Applause.]

For Radical Africanization

The Congolese must govern their country by and for themselves. All the positions of leadership in the government must go to Africans. And contrary to what is generally believed, we are capable of governing our country ourselves. We know that there are Congolese in rural districts who are illiterate, but they are nonetheless excellent administrators. And we will prove to the world that the Congo, which fought for its total liberation, is capable of governing itself. We accept no intervention, whatever its source.

Technical Assistance

Exercising our sovereignty, we are going to call for technicians, whom we will secure from all over the world, wherever we wish, from the United States, from Russia, from France, from Belgium, from Ghana, from Guinea. We will select them ourselves. Technicians who will not come here for trumped-up reasons serving as a cover-up for sabotaging our independence, technicians who will come not to dominate us, but to serve us, and obey the orders of the Congolese government. We know that Belgium is acting with ulterior motives. It is only powers that have indirect interests in the Congo, who have stock in the Union Minière, who are supporting Belgium's aggressive acts. This is the truth. The French press and the French radio attack the government of the republic every day.

The French say that we are "incompetent" because we have refused the sort of "community" that they have set up.⁶

We are attacked because we refuse to be dominated any longer. We are attacked because the members of the Congolese government are honest men who do not take bribes. They have tried to buy us off; they have even tried to buy me off, offering me millions. I refused. I won't take a cent for my people.

Religion and the State

The Belgian government has now raised funds to buy malcontents and bitter diehards throughout the country, who have been waging an organized campaign against the government, against the nation in their newspapers, in their press day after day. Bishops are forsaking the mission of spreading the gospel and interfering in affairs of state.

The missions are abandoning their mission in order to lead a campaign of obstruction against the state. We find ourselves insulted day after day in their press. They have launched a serious attack on the safety of the state; they have seriously broken the law. Our government has closed its eyes. Our tolerance is used today [inaudible passage]. Whereas even in France today, a civilized and democratic country, the French government more and more often seizes newspapers which attack the government's policy, and that is no exaggeration. And the morale of the people is being destroyed today, in the name of democracy and freedom. Every sort of liberty is taken. And from now on, the government [of the Congo] is going to assume its responsibilities.

We are a legal government, elected by the people; all the people have placed their confidence in us, in our policy. And no one can question the authority of the central government. And from now on, the government will take energetic and radical steps against anyone, black or white, who causes obstruction in this country. Those who

⁶ From here on, Lumumba was repeatedly interrupted by bursts of applause.

write their newspapers to destroy our state will be prosecuted in the courts of this country. And this is not to act as the enemies of the freedom and the independence of the Congo do and proclaim a dictatorship; this is not dictatorship, it is genuine democracy. Because what is democracy? The protection of citizens first of all, and respect for duly constituted authority. And anyone who attacks the authority of the government is against democracy, against the nation. The antinationists who have already sold out to the colonialists, who are paid by the colonialists, write filthy things in return for the money they have received. Certain movements today, so-called Catholic family movements, have gone so far as to attack the government in the name of Catholic leagues, youth organizations, and other groups; they want to destroy the Congolese nation, and we will not stand for that.

There must be a separation of church and state.

Our government will never meddle in the affairs of the church. We will never interfere in the affairs of the church. This religious freedom will be guaranteed in our constitution. The Catholics will pray in their places of worship; the Protestants in theirs, the Kimbanguists in theirs, the Kitawalist in theirs—each in his own church. And the state will protect all citizens. The government simply will not tolerate interference in affairs that are the exclusive province of the state.

If there are plans to continue to do in the Congo what has been done here for eighty years under the colonial regime, the people are opposed.

We have no other end in view than the interest of the people, not the interest of financial circles or of the church of this or that. We ourselves, and our own children, are still brought up to believe in Western Christian doctrines. We do not want the Congo, however, to have what they have in Belgium, a government under the dictatorship of the church.

It is a Catholic government, and Catholic circles, that for eighty years have systematically delayed the political emancipation of the

Congo. It was these people who said that politics should be kept out of the Congo because politics would make the Congolese see the light of day. And it was these same Catholic and religious circles which, even recently during the electoral campaign, preached against the nationalists, and even preached against Kasavubu, against Lumumba, against all the nationalists who wanted to work for the people. We publicly declare, so that people will be aware of the fact once and for all: we are not against anybody.

Shortly after arriving here last night, I received [two incomprehensible words here] telling me: "Mr. Prime Minister, we urgently ask you and your government to protect us against all these maneuvers of dishonest people who want to destroy our country, because you are working for the genuine independence of the Congo. And we trust you."

Secessionist Tendencies

There are those who speak of making this or that republic, this or that state out of their province; this will never happen.

The chief of state himself, Mr. Kasavubu, the president of the Abako, has sworn a public oath, before the entire nation, that he will uphold the unity of the country, that he will safeguard its territorial integrity. And I know that Kasavubu does not go along with these fascists. I know that Kasavubu is a man of integrity, an honest man who is aware of the interests of the country. But there are certain malcontents who are working against Kasavubu and against the country because they have not been given ministerial posts in the central government. [Applause.]

The night before I left for the United States, a man from Brazzaville was shown into my office. "Mr. Prime Minister, I have been told the names of several members of the Abako who came to hatch a plot with Youlou, saying: 'You must support us; we are going to proclaim the independence of part of the Lower Congo and we are going to form a state with you, Youlou,'" he told me. I immediately informed the chief of state of this little sedition movement led by

his enemies, and as far as these little demonstrations are concerned, these people say they have voted not to trust the government. There is no reason for them to vote not to trust the government because such a vote is not within their province. This is a splinter group of a few Bakongos who are against Kasavubu, who are against the government, who are against the country, who are in the pay of the colonialists, who are paid by the Catholics to create difficulties and disorder in the country. I respect the chief of state, Mr. Kasavubu, a man of integrity, with whom we are working as a team to save this country. We proved this, at the risk of our lives, when incidents occurred throughout the Lower Congo, Kasai, Kivu, and Orientale Province. Then there is the imperialist press, which has even gone so far as to say: "Kasavubu is under Lumumba's thumb." The same old attempt to divide and rule. Because the solidarity between Kasavubu and me is not at all to their liking. And they will never succeed in dividing us. Along with Kasavubu, along with all the people, we are going to lead this nation to victory, to the total conquest of independence and freedom.

American Aid and the Example of the United States

When I visited the United States, I made contact with every possible circle, and after having obtained assurances in favor of the Congo from every nation, an invitation was extended me by the American government. I went to Washington, where the American government extended me a very warm welcome, a dignified welcome of the sort granted a chief of state. I was given a nineteen-gun salute. All the members of the government were present. I stayed where distinguished guests of the White House stay. But the Belgian government protested: why had the American government extended such a distinguished welcome to a Negro? [*Laughter and applause.*] The Belgian government was displeased that such a distinguished welcome had been extended to a head of the Congolese government, the same sort of welcome that would have been extended King Baudouin; it made an official protest. You see, gentlemen, how petty

the Belgian government is: at the very moment that Belgium is seeking friendship with the Congolese people, at the very moment that Belgium is asking for the collaboration of the Congolese people, at the very moment that Belgium [several inaudible words] maintain bonds of friendship and cooperation, Belgium at the same time is wreaking havoc day by day, is dishonoring itself in the eyes of the Congolese people who are watching her closely. And I am grateful to the government of the United States for its understanding. I have had very constructive talks with the American government, which has assured me it will grant all necessary aid to the Congo. This proves to us that the truth can be concealed, can be torpedoed, but will always triumph in the end. The Congo still has the confidence of the entire world. The head of the Congolese government, who was pictured as a man who was against whites, as a destroyer, has been received as an equal by all the chiefs of state of the Western countries. . . .

I had proof of the same sort of confidence everywhere I went. I even had contacts with American financial groups who made me concrete proposals concerning their coming to the Congo. The American government offered me three hundred scholarships for the Congolese people. As you can see, Belgium is destroying us, Belgium is sabotaging us, Belgium is stealing our money, but we will get help elsewhere. And we still have lots of gold under the ground in the Congo. [*Laughter, applause.*] And I thank the United States, which has played an important role in the history of humanity. What is happening at present in the Congo also happened in the United States, where there was a secession movement. And I compared this situation with the situation in the Congo, in particular the fight that the American people waged against the colonialism of the imperialists. And the former colonies established in America fought to put an end to oppression, to commercial exploitation. All these former colonies attained their freedom. And it was the very same sort of fight for freedom that we have been waging, today and yesterday, against the imperialists. And then after liberation there was a

secession movement, and they fought again for the unification of America, for American unity. And the fascists, the traitors to their country, failed, and America is one. And it was this unity, this victory for freedom and progress that made that handful of little former colonies a great power, a great power that today has dominated its former exploiters. And the Congo with its wealth, its potentialities, will become a great and powerful nation, economically and politically. And the great Congolese nation is going to take in Belgians who want to come to our country. And we are going to welcome them with open arms, because we are peace-loving people. And thus far no member of the government has any hatred toward Belgians.

There is no such thing as a government that is against Belgians or against whites in general. We are simply against this exploitative regime; we are merely against these maneuvers aimed at breaking up the Congo so that the imperialists can continue to control our country. Despite this, we continue to follow the same path: friendship with everyone, and as you see, there is still a smile on our faces, and every time that reporters come here, we welcome them with open arms; every time that Europeans come to our country, to our offices, we receive them. There are some Belgians who have married our daughters, yet no one has gone to take his daughter home because she didn't want to live with Belgians any more. There are Belgians who are still in office in our country; department heads [several inaudible words], magistrates in our courts.

The Belgian is here among us, he is working in a spirit of collaboration and brotherhood with the Congolese members of my Cabinet. If you visit the other ministries, you will find Belgians at work, Belgians of good faith and good will. This is a proof, gentlemen, that we are not against Belgians. We are merely against troublemakers.

African Unity and Personality

I then traveled throughout Africa at the request of African heads of state.

I went to Tunisia. In Tunisia, His Excellency President Bourguiba

assured me he would help in any way possible; he and I signed a communiqué affirming the solidarity of the peoples of Africa.

From Tunisia I went to Morocco, having received a special invitation from His Majesty Mohammed V. I was extended a warm and fraternal welcome. His Majesty assured me he would help in any way possible. He gave me a plane that brought me back here, along with a team of technicians. I then went to Guinea, where I was welcomed with open arms by President Sekou Touré. Almost every one of the members of the Assembly volunteered to come fight here. Hundreds, thousands of Guineans have volunteered to come serve the Congo.

From Guinea I went to Liberia, having received an invitation from President Tubman too, a very wise man, who also assured me of his support and told me: "We had the same sort of difficulties in the beginning: the Americans in our country, who were not real Americans, wanted to create the same situation as in the Congo. We put up a fight. You will succeed," he assured me.

"Liberia is at your disposal," he said. "And you will get everything you want. And if it is necessary to liberate Katanga by force of arms, we will come."

From Liberia I went to Ghana, where I received the same encouragement, the same support. All the people of Ghana have mobilized to back the Congo. From there I went to Togo yesterday, and His Excellency Prime Minister Olympio assured me of the same support. I also received invitations from Egypt, and from the emperor of Ethiopia.

I did not have time to go everywhere. African solidarity is something unbelievable, I assure you. I had no idea there was this sort of solidarity, including all the Asiatic countries. These events in the Congo have helped us enormously. The action of Belgium in the Congo has been of great benefit to us. [*Applause, laughter.*] Because the Congo is now in a position to take a decisive step toward total liberation, on the political plane, on the economic plane, on the spiritual plane, on the social plane, the Belgian government has

attempted to create disorder, to create an economic vacuum, to plunge us into poverty, into unemployment, so that the people will fall into anarchy tomorrow. But I can tell you that we will thwart all these maneuvers. I have proposed, finally, that all the African states meet in Leo: a major summit conference of the sort that the four or five great powers hold in Europe.

A major summit conference that will bring all the African states together in Leopoldville, from the twenty-fifth to the thirtieth of August. The Asian states will also attend as observers. Africa will have its say; Africa will take a position; Africa will tell the West that the period of domination and colonization is over now.

Africa will tell the West that it wants the rehabilitation of Africa now, a return to the sources, the reinstitution of moral values; the African personality must express itself; that is what our policy of positive neutralism means. Africa will not be divided into blocs, as Europe has been. On the contrary, there will be active African solidarity. The administration of our country on a communal basis, which is only a cover-up for the perpetuation of the colonial regime, will soon come to an end. As you see, gentlemen, it is to prevent you from attaining your goal that our government is called a communist government, a government in the pay of the Soviet Union, that Lumumba is called a communist, that Lumumba is said to be antiwhite; Lumumba is an African. The government of the Congo is a nationalist government that wants nothing to do with any imported ideology, and demands only the complete and total liberation of the Congo.

We have no intention of letting ourselves be guided by just any ideology. We have our own ideology, a strong ideology, a noble ideology, the affirmation of the African personality.

We reject assimilation, [laughter] because assimilation represents the depersonalization of the African and Africa. Thus, allying ourselves with this bloc or that, with this ideology or that, means that we would be giving up our African personality. Never. The imperi-

alists must be told that even though they may have made a success of a policy of assimilation, of a policy of depersonalization of Africa elsewhere, in the other former English, British, Portuguese, or French colonies, they will not succeed in the Congo. What is more, that is why any Congolese who voiced his will, who expressed his philosophy, who wanted to worship as he chose, was thrown in prison by the colonialists from the very outset, in the name of the Catholic religion. The Bakongos have been persecuted for years on end; everybody knows what happened to Simon Kimbangu. The Bakongos have been dispossessed of their lands for years and years. And the Kitawalis too, throughout the country. To get the blessing of the colonialists, all you had to do was recite their catechism. [Laughter.] And these lies have now come to the surface for everybody in the world to see; if a Congolese says what he thinks, he is an antiwhite, he is preaching a false religion; he is forbidden to do so; a law is passed, a government decree; that is what they are trying to do today to show the world that we are communists. But I assure you that the Congolese people are impervious to such ideas. [Laughter and applause.] All of Africa has mobilized in support of the Congo, as I have just told you. The Congolese government has a solid majority; there are no differences of opinion between the members of the national government, as the press has claimed in order to sow confusion. This government is a cohesive, dynamic, and incorruptible government working in the sole interest of the people. Is there any dissension between you, dear comrades? [Cries of "No, no" and applause.]

*Praise of the National Congolese Army
and Congolese Officials*

The members of the Congolese government will go as a body to Katanga. We will go there. And if the Belgian troops stationed in Katanga want to kill us, we will die for our country. Our soldiers are competent, and they are assuming their responsibilities. Our

general, our colonels, our officers, our noncommissioned officers have demonstrated that they have a sense of duty, now that we have put them in command.

There will be no politics in the army, only discipline; there must be strict discipline throughout the army. And there will be. We have given General Lundula full power to act, to take decisive action for the immediate restoration of order in the country. The army will arrest anyone, be he white or African, who tries to stir up trouble in the Congo; it will show no mercy. I am grateful to all the Congolese officials who have remained at their posts since the beginning of the incidents, despite the sabotage of Belgian officials who have abandoned everything, without even turning their jobs over to nationals, without showing them what they must do. The latter have done their very best. I am going to give them complete responsibility. We are going to see to it that everyone in the government acts together. We trust our civil servants. They have worked under the colonial regime for a long time and I want these civil servants to take over the positions of leadership. And I will be at their side to teach them. And all of us who are brothers, wherever we may be, are going to advise each other. I am convinced that in a month, in two months, you are going to find honest civil servants, capable and competent civil servants throughout the country. There are even competent tribal chieftains who are illiterate, but who nonetheless will be excellent administrators tomorrow. New, simplified, uncomplicated methods of administration. This is a young country, a new democracy, a genuine one.

We will protect each and every citizen. We do not want a bourgeois government that lives apart from the people. We want to go down among the people and continue to talk with them.

For Economic Democracy

The policy of the government will be none other than that of the people. It is the people who tell us what to do, and we are proceeding in accordance with the interests and the aspirations of the

people. Independence is the beginning of a real struggle. Just because the Congo is independent now does not mean that money will fall from heaven. Our government took over on June 30. A few days later, the imperialists created disorder in the country in order to prevent us from going on with our work. Our program for developing the country, for industrialization, for the creation of a healthy economy has come to a standstill. And as long as Belgian troops remain in the Congo, we cannot get our program under way. The presence of Belgian troops benefits no one. This presence of Belgian military troops harms the Congolese, the Belgians who have settled here, the owners of companies, industrialists, and everyone else alike. Because as long as these troops are here among us, how can we be expected to work with Europeans in a spirit of cooperation? Because everywhere that there are Belgians to be seen, people will say: "They're the enemies of freedom. Because their brothers have stationed enemy troops in the country."

We have won our political independence. The patrimony of the nation belongs to us. We want to get to work. We ministers are going to visit rural districts; we are going to plow the land to show the country how we must create cooperatives. The colonialists are now waging a campaign with the sham labor unions they have set up, saying: "There is unemployment, jobs are needed, and the Central Government is doing nothing." The Central Government that took over the country with all the cash drawers empty. Should we now go steal money from the whites' cash drawers? The people must decide whether they want a dishonest puppet government in power that will make one deal after another with financial circles. We have promised the people freedom, not money.

We do not want ever to fool the people, and the people know very well that there is not a single minister who has been paid his salary since we have been in power. And that proves, as each minister knows, that we eat when the people eat; we don't need money. And as for this campaign waged by petty imperialist labor unions, where blacks are given jobs and supposedly run the union, the only

persons behind all that are enemies who are trying to create confusion. We are going to give all our workers jobs after the withdrawal of the Belgian troops. A new program. Everyone will have work, with modest wages. And I assure you that with our faith, with our energy, with our national pride, the Congo will be a highly developed country in five years. We will not develop the country by begging for capital, but by working ourselves, with our own hands, through our own efforts. We don't want people to say tomorrow: "It's because we gave them money that this or that was done." They will blackmail us if we do that. No. The United States is the land of the dollar. Who created the dollar? Men. It was men's labor that made the United States what it is today. It was men's labor that made France what it is today. It was men's labor that made Belgium what it is today. It is not money that creates progress. It is man who creates progress. And we want the Belgian troops to leave and let us live in peace, let us work. We do not want any more agitation, any more disorder, any more pointless words, any more slogans. The only slogan for the moment must be: economic progress, everybody at work, mobilizing all young people, all our women, all the energies of the country. No one appreciates gifts. Independence that is a gift is not a good independence. Real independence is independence that is fought for and won.

With Our Brains, with Our Hands

If in America, if everywhere in the world, people know how to manufacture medicines, to manufacture cars, why shouldn't the Congolese also be capable of creating new things in their country in five or six years? There is talk of an impending crisis among the peasants. That is not true. The country is in a healthy situation. The money in our bank vaults, our gold reserves, have been carried off. Let them take them; we ask only one thing: that our country be left its peace. *[Laughter, applause.]*

We are going to exploit the treasures still beneath the soil of the

Congo. Out of fourteen million people, there are at least thirteen million who have always made a livelihood through their own labor all during the eighty years that the Belgians were in our country. Congolese in rural areas have never gotten a cent from the Belgian colonial government. How did they manage to live?

They have their fields, their crops, their fruit. And it was only when a man could sell what he had hunted or grown in the ground that he had ten francs to call his own. Do you think that was a bad fix to be in? *[Shouts of "No, no!"]* So why is there talk today of our being poverty stricken when the Belgians leave? That is not true. We have fertile fields and hunting grounds. And we can live very well without being exploited by the Belgians in any way. That is the truth. There has been vicious propaganda to deceive the people. But the people can be deceived no longer, for we are going to keep them informed.

We are going to carry out a psychological decolonization, because the people have been subject to false indoctrination for eighty years. False ideas have been put in people's heads; they have been told that in order to have money, in order to have enough to eat, they had to work for Europeans. We are going to tell the people that this is not true, that in order to live happy lives, they must get to work and plow the land. That is how things really are. We are aware of the facts. We are going to develop the country ourselves. We have no technical skills. We are going to develop the Congo with our brains, with our hands. And in a few months, in a few years, you will see. And those who thought that they could sneak into the Congo under the cloak of the United Nations won't be able to get in. The doors of the Congo are hermetically sealed to exploiters and fortune hunters. But the doors of the Congo are wide open to men of good will, of good faith, who would like to come and help us, as I said just now.

These are the ideas I wanted to put before you, gentlemen, so that you could pass on the word throughout the world that this is

our position, that our government stands as one, that the chief of state and I are of one mind, as are the people at our side, and today it is the people who are going to fight against those who disturb the public peace, through their legal government. Through democratic practices, through their institutions, through their central government, it is the people who are going to combat vicious propaganda, the enemies of freedom, the enemies of the country, traitors. And I know that our efforts are soon going to be crowned with success; we are going to go to Katanga to liberate our brothers.

Between the time of Lumumba's return from the United States on August 8 and the opening of the Pan-African Conference on August 25, a number of important events occurred in Leopoldville. They were a portent of the tragic political situation that would arise at the beginning of September. From this two-week period, we have chosen several excerpts from speeches and texts of Lumumba's that shed light on the atmosphere at that time. On August 8, the United Nations Security Council asked Belgium to withdraw its troops from Katanga immediately. On August 9, the Belgian ambassador, Mr. van den Bosch, was expelled from Leopoldville. On August 12, Mr. Hammarskjöld came to Elisabethville, and the Central Government criticized the United Nations' dilatoriness in seeing that the troops were withdrawn. On the eighteenth there were skirmishes between soldiers of the Congolese National Army and United Nations troops.

The quotations published below are literal transcriptions of tape recordings of Mr. Lumumba's press conferences in Leopoldville.

Support for Attempts at Secession (August 9)

It has become clear to me that Belgium's goal is to bring about the breakup of the Congo by any possible means.

Belgium has carried away our gold reserves. . . . Thus money is

being stolen from the Congolese people to reward Katanga for its efforts to destroy the nation.

Belgium has launched a campaign of lies and slander throughout the entire world.

Equateur Province's Attempt to Secede (August 13)

The same maneuvers have been plotted in Orientale Province. Mr. Finant, the president of the government of Orientale Province, is here before you. They have expended every possible effort. He was forced to jail Colonel Hennequiaux,* who was behind these maneuvers.

Expulsion of Congolese Troops in Katanga (August 13)

The president of the Provincial Government of Stanleyville, who arrived two days ago, has informed us that — how many? [Reply by Mr. Finant: seven thousand.] Seven thousand soldiers and members of their families have been expelled from Katanga. And before these seven thousand were sent back here to Leopoldville, two thousand others had arrived after being expelled from Katanga. And according to information that has been obtained by the president of the government of Stanleyville, information passed on to him by troops that had been expelled from Katanga, the Belgian officers with Tshombe assembled all the troops and said: "All military personnel must serve in the Katangese army. And any troops who do not agree to do so must leave Katanga and go home." And before that, a hundred soldiers were shot; they shot a hundred of them. More than a hundred — how many? [Reply by Mr. Finant: a hundred and nine.] A hundred and nine. Shot by the Belgians and Tshombe. And not one word has been said about this. All the telephone lines have been cut. There is a massacre going on in Katanga.

* On July 8, Colonel Hennequiaux was appointed chief adviser to the Congolese army and on July 9 was appointed to head a peacemaking mission in Stanleyville, along with the president of the Chamber.

Gold and Diamonds (August 13)

Another situation! Having created disorders in the Congo, Belgium is now operating in another way. Our diamonds in Kasai are being stolen. Because there is no surveillance now, Belgian troops are being stationed all over the Congo to spread terror and thus get their hands on our riches throughout the country.

In Orientale Province, where there are many gold mines, Europeans are going into the mines now; there are Belgians taking our gold, stealing our gold. And the provincial authorities have already impounded gold ingots weighing 103 kilograms and 700 grams, seized from whites who declared that they were the agents of this mining company. And that was completely untrue. There are functionaries, there are officials, a whole bunch of people all over the country who are looking for gold and stealing gold. This gold has now been sent to the Central Bank in Stanleyville. As you see, the young Congolese government is vigilant. This is what Belgian military occupation, troops supposedly in our country to protect Belgians, really are for. To steal the gold of the Congolese now.

The Airfield at Kamembe (August 13)

I called an extraordinary session of all the presidents of the provincial governments, I dispatched a special plane that left Stanleyville with the president of the provincial government aboard to go to Bukavu to pick up his colleague, Mr. Miruho. He was to go from there to Coquilhatville, pick up his colleague, and come back here. Mr. Finant got on the plane in Stanleyville and flew to Bukavu, and when the plane arrived there, it was forbidden to land by the Belgian troops and the Belgian resident. He insisted and said: "I have come here to get the president of Bukavu, in the name of the Central Government." They still wouldn't allow him to land and told him: "If you dare to insist and approach the Kamembe airfield, we'll shoot the plane down." He was forced to turn back. The plane flew on for seven and a half hours. And when it arrived in

Coq, it had only fifteen minutes' fuel left. Mr. Finant spent the night there and arrived in Leopoldville the next day. This is the same trick that was pulled on the chief of state and me when we went to Katanga. The officials of our country can no longer fly about the country freely in planes and land where justice calls us. This is what the Belgians mean by a spirit of collaboration. . . .

The Paratroop Commandos at N'Djili (August 15)

We have also just discovered that there are paratroop commandos at the airport, when we had been told that all Belgian troops had left Leopoldville. I went out to the airport yesterday and Congolese who were working there told me: "Mr. Prime Minister, there are still some Belgian military personnel in disguise here at the airport. The military authorities made inquiries yesterday, and discovered that there were still Belgian troops at the airport. There are a number of them who have disguised themselves as United Nations troops." The government is taking a stand today. These troops must leave today; otherwise they will all be arrested and considered prisoners. [Applause.] I have notified Mr. Bunche, the United Nations assistant secretary-general, of this decision. And I requested that the N'Djili airport be guarded only by troops of the national army and perhaps a few United Nations troops, but only African ones. [Applause.] We have placed our trust in the United Nations. But they must not try to hoodwink us and tell us that it is Swedish or Irish troops who are at the airport when it is Belgian troops who are there. And when the government discovers this and protests, people are going to say that we no longer trust the United Nations. We are no longer children who can be easily taken in.

Belgian "Saboteurs" (August 13)

We trusted the majority of Belgians, believing that they were sincere when they said that they wanted to stay here with us.

But we have harbored spies. This plot against the nation becomes more and more evident as each day goes by. Belgium and

the Belgians are acting like submarines now. Since they can no longer operate on the surface, they are operating below it. They have set up a spy network. Orders are sent from Belgium and received here. The few Belgians here communicate them to their straw men, and these straw men pass them on to their militants. And the government is well aware of this whole situation.

General Accusations

The Belgian government has attempted to create disorder, to create an economic vacuum, to plunge us into poverty, into unemployment, so that the people will fall into anarchy tomorrow. [August 9, 1960]

As you can see, Belgium is destroying us, Belgium is sabotaging us, Belgium is stealing our money, but we will get help elsewhere. [August 9, 1960]

The Congolese are no longer dupes. Millions were spent on the electoral campaign, to try to set up a puppet government; but these millions have gone down the drain. Today more millions are being collected to try to overthrow the government, to try to retain control of the country. These expenditures are also useless. [August 13, 1960]

Lumumba's call for the withdrawal of the United Nations white troops was recorded live on August 13, 1960.

If the Belgian government has vigorously opposed the entrance of United Nations troops in Katanga, and above all African troops, it is so that the atrocities that have been committed in Katanga will not come to light. We know the Belgians said: "We want United Nations troops to enter the Congo, but only European troops, not African troops, because we know that the African has African sympathies." [Applause.] But military troops are military troops, and we therefore do not understand why the secretary-

general gave in and sent only white troops to Katanga, not allowing African troops to participate. This injustice clearly demonstrates that Belgium and the secretary-general of the United Nations have secretly agreed on what moves are to be made. [Applause.] The Central Government and the provincial governments will examine the situation shortly. We want the United Nations to pursue its action and are willing to aid it to the limit of our abilities, but only on condition that all white troops are withdrawn from the Congo. [Applause.] The African troops that have been put at the disposal of the United Nations are quite sufficient to restore order in this country. Belgians have come here disguised as United Nations troops and claiming that they are Swedish or Irish. And we have proof of this. Two such soldiers were discovered yesterday. Such hypocrisy must not be allowed to continue. The work of the United Nations must not be discredited. All sorts of things are being done in the Congo at this time to discredit the work of the United Nations. And when we protest, people are going to say: "You see, they are against the United Nations, they are against peace." We publicly denounce this.

LETTER TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

August 15, 1960

I have just now received your letter of this date, in reply to the one I sent you an hour ago. Your letter in no way answers the precise questions or the concrete proposals contained in my letters of the fourteenth and fifteenth of this month. There are no errors of fact in my statements, as you claim. It is because I publicly denounced, in a recent press conference, the maneuvers whereby the only troops sent to Katanga were from Sweden — a country whose particular ties to the Belgian royal family are public knowledge — that you have now hastily decided to send African troops into this province.

If no member of the Security Council has taken it upon himself

to question the validity of your memorandum and your plans for action, it is because the members of the council have no precise idea of what is going on behind the scenes. Public opinion is well aware — as are the members of the Security Council — that after its last resolution was passed, you postponed your trip to the Congo for twenty-four hours for the sole purpose of engaging in talks with Mr. Pierre Wigny, the Belgian minister of foreign affairs, the administrator of the mining companies in the Congo, and one of the plotters of the secession of Katanga.

Before leaving New York for the Congo, the Congolese delegation headed by the vice-president of the council, Mr. Antoine Gizenga, insisted that you contact my government as soon as you arrived in Leopoldville before going on to Katanga, in accordance with the Security Council's resolution of July 14, 1960. I personally insisted on this in the letter I sent you on August 12, through the intermediary of your special representative, Mr. Ralph Bunche. But you completely ignored the legal government of the republic and sent a telegram from New York to Mr. Tshombe, the leader of the Katangese rebellion and an agent of the Belgian government. Mr. Tshombe, as usual at the instigation of the Belgians who have been placed at his side, answered this telegram by laying down two conditions that to his mind should govern the entrance of United Nations troops into Katanga. According to revealing statements that have just been made by Mr. Tshombe during his press conference, you met Belgium's every demand as expressed through Mr. Tshombe.

In view of all the foregoing, the government and the people of the Congo have lost their confidence in the secretary-general of the United Nations. As a consequence, we request as of this date that the Security Council immediately send to the Congo a group of neutral observers representing the following countries: Morocco, Tunisia, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, the United Arab Republic, Sudan, Ceylon, Liberia, Mali, Burma, India, Afghanistan, and Lebanon. The mission of these observers will be to assure the immedi-

ate and total application of the resolutions of the Security Council of July 14 and 22 and August 9, 1960.

I firmly hope that the Security Council, in which we place our entire trust, will grant our legitimate request. A government delegation will accompany you in order to set its point of view before the Security Council. I ask you, therefore, to kindly postpone your departure for twenty-four hours in order to allow our delegation to travel on the same plane.

Please be assured, Mr. Secretary-General, of our highest regard.

The Prime Minister

Signed: P. LUMUMBA

Here is Lumumba's eloquent reply when President Youlou refused to invite him to the ceremonies celebrating the independence of the Brazzaville Congo. It was broadcast on Radio Leopoldville, August 15, 1960.

MESSAGE TO THE BRAZZAVILLE CONGO

Brothers and comrades in the struggle:

On this historic day, when the brother people of the northern Congo regain their independence, I am proud and happy to send warm and fraternal greetings to all the populace in the name of the government and of the people of the Republic of the Congo. My government remains convinced that the valiant Congolese people on the other side of the river will work energetically to broaden and strengthen their independence. My government stands ready to consolidate ties with you that are based on a common past and promise a happy future.

That is why my government and all the leaders of my country looked forward with genuine pleasure to joining you in our Brazzaville to celebrate this joyous event together. Unfortunately a telegram from your government has prevented us from doing so. In the name of the friendship between African peoples, we call upon you

to judge the wording, the intentions, and the motives behind this telegram. It reads as follows:

OFFICIAL TELEGRAM PRIME MINISTER LEOPOLDVILLE NO. 51 242
IN REPLY TO YOUR TELEGRAM OF AUGUST 14 SIGNED BY SECRETARY
MANDI ARRANGEMENTS ALREADY MADE FOR RECEPTION CHIEFS OF
STATE ONLY STOP REGRET NOT BEING ABLE TO RECEIVE PRIME MINIS-
TER STOP CONFIRM MINISTER CANDZION IN CHARGE WELCOMING COM-
MITTEE WILL BE BEACH LEOPOLDVILLE 10 AM FOR ARRIVAL BRAZZA-
VILLE 10:15 STOP ALL ARRANGEMENTS ALREADY MADE FOR THIS HOUR
STOP CONFIRM ALSO MEMBERS YOUR DELEGATION MUST COME IN
PRIVATE CARS STOP SIGNED PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE
CONGO ABBÉ FULBERT YOLOU

Congolese brothers, comrades in the struggle, despite this telegram and the purpose behind it, we are persuaded that our two peoples, who have been the victims of the same humiliating and oppressive regime over the centuries, will be able to surmount together all the obstacles that colonialism has placed between us and join each other within a worthy, fruitful, prosperous, and fraternal African community. Long live independence and the sovereignty of the former French Congo. Long live African friendship in unity, fraternity, freedom, and democracy. Long live the friendship of all the world's peoples.

Up until September 15, the prime minister made it a point not to hold the chief of state personally responsible for the behavior of the Mukongo Tribe or for the actions of certain members of the Abako party. Lumumba's appeals failed to prevent an eventual rift between him and Kasavubu, however. The two speeches here were made on Radio Leopoldville on August 9 and 13.

THE ABAKO

Against the Independence of the Bakongos

It is being said that a splinter group of Bakongos is going to proclaim its independence; this will never happen. . . . This is a splinter group of a few Bakongos who are against Kasavubu, who are against the government, who are against the country, who are in the pay of the colonialists, who are paid by the Catholics to create obstruction and disorder in the country. . . . Mr. Kasavubu does not go along with these fascists . . . who have gone off to plot with Youlou.

The Bakongos, a Brother People

False rumors have been spread in Leopoldville, particularly in Bakongo circles, that the Central Government has already arrested several Bakongo leaders. I received telegrams, a great number of telegrams yesterday and this morning, some of them from an Abako youth movement, and some of them from Bakongo public figures, asking me to free the Bakongo leaders who have been arrested. And I publicly state that no Bakongo leader, no Bakongo public figure, has been arrested. There has been no legal or administrative action against the Bakongos. They are a brother people. If we have elected Mr. Kasavubu, the president of the Abako, as chief of state, it is because we trusted our Bakongo brothers. The colonialists tried to divide us; before independence they waged a campaign against the Bakongos in the five provinces. They tried to isolate them. We reacted. I was the first to say that it was a hate campaign, a campaign of lies. The Bakongos are our brothers and we have proved it. The colonialists are still trying to exploit popular curiosity today. And we say to our Bakongo brothers that no steps have been taken against them and that these are false rumors. I happen to have had a visit from Mr. Diomi yesterday. There was even a rumor going about that I had signed an order or a warrant for Mr. Diomi's ar-

rest and imprisonment, which is absolutely false. We know that our brothers in the Lower Congo have legitimate aspirations, that they would like to remain within the framework of a united Congo but want an administrative province of their own, a province whose affairs they can run as they think best. I know that the same demands are being made elsewhere. We approve of anything that is compatible with the interests of the nation. The only answer I can give on the part of the Central Government is that the circumstances we find ourselves in at present, a time of veritable national mourning, make this the wrong moment to proceed with these administrative or institutional reforms.

Our enemies are going to take advantage of this situation and create other difficulties for us. If a Bakongo province is created today, with the best of intentions since the Bakongos are for national unity, the chief of state is for national unity, and every sane person in this country is for national unity, our enemies will seize upon this as an excuse to create a third or a fourth province in Leopoldville. They will exploit the same situation elsewhere. And I told Mr. Diomi: "Your aspirations will always be considered sympathetically, and will surely be fulfilled. I want to assure my Bakongo brothers that they will never have any difficulty with the Central Government, the present nationalist government; on the contrary, they will always find satisfaction." [Applause.]

But may it always be in the superior interest of the country, of the nation, and of the immediate and total independence that the Bakongos, the Bangalas, the Balubas, the Batetelas continually called for during the election campaign. And now that this total and complete independence is in our hands and our enemies are attempting to wrest it from us, the first thing we must do is fight these enemies; and when the enemy has left, when we have consolidated our strength, when we have laid firm foundations on the national plane, we can then examine exactly what sort of structure this country will have, calmly and carefully, within our Parliament, with the cooperation of everyone. Whether the Congo is to go by

the name of a unitary state, a confederation, a federal system, or any other name, is not what primarily interests us. What is of prime concern is the interest of the country, the future of the Congo. And we are going to find a solution that will be the expression of the popular will, of the Bakongos, of the Balubas, and of everybody else. But we must understand that for the moment [our watchword must be]: let us drive out the enemy, let us fight against the enemy.

In another talk on Radio Leopoldville (no date), Lumumba denounced subversive tracts—racist and reactionary periodicals in Belgium, which since 1958 had also been violently attacking Présence Africaine.

I want to tell you about the Belgians' latest maneuvers in the Congo. Thousands of seditious tracts coming straight from Brussels have been distributed throughout the cité in Leopoldville. These tracts were printed on the presses of *Europe-Magazine*, a newspaper published in Brussels whose entry into the Congo has just been forbidden. These seditious tracts were shipped here aboard Sabena planes in boxes bearing the label "newspapers." One of these tracts states: "Congolese, Lumumba is going to sell your women to Russia." Another one says: "Lumumba has been given millions in diamonds for our women, millions of tears."

Another one says: "We have *trinqué*, and that's what Lumumba is still doing,"* and these are juxtaposed photos, one of which shows a wounded Congolese.

Here is another tract, with a text in Lingala: "I have made a pact with the devil; so much the worse for the Congolese." Then you see Lumumba with bandages on his hand; this is outrageous Belgian treachery at work, because as I was leaving the prison in Jadotville, after also having been handcuffed and tied up like a stick of wood at the prison in Stanleyville, the handcuffs injured my wrists

* An untranslatable play on the word *trinquier*, which means both "to suffer a loss" and "to clink glasses." (Translator's note.)

and I still had open sores when I arrived in Brussels to participate in the Round Table Conference, and the journalists had photographed me. And today the Belgians are making a show of atrocities that I myself preferred to hide since there would have been no point in putting them before the Congolese people. But the Belgians themselves are making a show of how I suffered and how they mistreated me; all that, gentlemen, is proof of the Congolese people's victory over colonialism. [Applause.]

And as you see, instead of using its planes for the normal shipment of freight and passengers, Sabena is now transporting tracts and documents that arouse people's hatred. This is proof, gentlemen of the press, of what the Belgians mean by friendship and a spirit of cooperation toward the Congo.

Let us thwart the maneuvers of these brothers, our brothers who are strengthening the enemy's hand today. The Belgians are no longer able to distribute their tracts, and it is blacks who are doing so, in city taxicabs, having been paid five hundred or a thousand francs, and it is these same brothers who are destroying the Congo. We have our riches, we have our manioc, we have our bananas: can't we eat them as a proof of the nation's conscience today? A Congolese can be bought for a hundred francs; a person willing to destroy his country can be bought for fifty francs. I am addressing an appeal, a desperate appeal to the entire Congolese people to be vigilant. And if any brother of yours, any son of yours, whoever he may be, sells out our country, collaborates with the enemy, it is you the people who must be the judge, who must be the police, who must arrest this hoodlum, this collaborator, this traitor. We are not against anyone; we are for peace.

In the face of the press campaign against him in certain circles and the foreign attacks on his government, Lumumba secured passage of the following laws.

DECREE CONCERNING FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION AND ASSEMBLY (AUGUST 11, 1960)

In view of the provisions of the Fundamental Law of May 19, 1960, regarding the structures of the republic, in particular articles 2, 35, and 36 of this law;

In view of the provisions of the Fundamental Law of June 17, 1960, regarding public freedoms, in particular articles 16 and 18 of this law;

In view of the provisions of the decree of August 6, 1922, regarding the general police powers of the government;

In view of the decision made by the Council of Ministers on August 8, 1960;

In view of the fact that serious disturbances are now occurring throughout the territory of the Republic of the Congo;

It is hereby decreed:

Chapter I. On Freedom of Association

Article 1. No association may be formed without the authorization of the Minister of the Interior.

Article 2. Such authorization will be refused only to associations whose existence might constitute a threat to public peace or order.

Article 3. All requests for authorization are to be submitted to the Minister of the Interior, accompanied by the following information:

- (1) the name and address of the association;
- (2) the purpose of the association;
- (3) the conditions for membership in the association;
- (4) a full description and indication of the customary residence of leaders of the association or of those who participate in the direction of it, and their titles;
- (5) the insignia that members of the association wear;

(6) the places where meetings of the general membership and meetings of the leaders are held.

Article 4. Any changes in regard to any of the facts specified in the preceding article are to be brought to the attention of the Minister of the Interior, and are to be subject to his approval.

Article 5. Authorized associations will be subject to the constant surveillance of the Minister in charge of the Sûreté or his deputy. The latter may attend meetings of the association or of its leaders at any time, and may demand that records and documents pertaining to the association be turned over to them.

Article 6. Associations already in existence are required to apply immediately for the authorization provided for in Article 1. They may engage in no activities whatsoever until such authorization has been obtained.

Article 7. The Minister of the Interior may dissolve at any time any association that does not comply with the present decree or whose existence constitutes a threat to public peace or order.

Article 8. Any person aware of the irregular nature of an association or its operation who participates in its formation or its activities, attends its meetings, or contributes to its operation, will be subject to a maximum prison sentence of two months and a fine not to exceed 2000 francs, or to only one of the two foregoing penalties.

Chapter II. On Freedom of Assembly

Article 9. Any procession, parade, demonstration, meeting, or assembly of persons outdoors or in an unenclosed or open place is subject to prior authorization in writing.

Article 10. The authorization described in Article 9 is to be granted by our Minister of the Interior or his deputy.

Article 11. The request for authorization is to be made in writing. It must be in the hands of the minister specified or his deputy at least six days before the date on which the demonstration, meeting, or assembly is to be held.

Article 12. Anyone who organizes a demonstration, meeting, or assembly that has not been duly authorized under the terms of the present decree or who knowingly participates in such will be subject to a maximum prison sentence of two months and a fine not to exceed 2000 francs, or to only one of the foregoing penalties.

Article 13. The present decree will be publicly posted and inserted in the *Moniteur Congolais*. It is to become effective immediately.

Article 14. The Minister of the Interior and the Minister in charge of the Sûreté are to be responsible for the execution of the present decree, in accordance with the duties herein assigned him.

Executed in Leopoldville, August 11, 1960.

For the government,
The Prime Minister,
P. LUMUMBA

THE INSTITUTION OF A SPECIAL STATE OF MARTIAL LAW (AUGUST 16, 1960)

We, the President of the Republic of the Congo,

In view of the provisions of the Fundamental Law of May 19, 1960, regarding structures, in particular article 187 of this law;

In view of the provisions of the decree of November 8, 1917, regarding martial law not implicitly abrogated by the aforesaid Fundamental Law;

In view of grave concerns regarding public safety that necessitate strong measures aimed at restoring order and justice;

In view of the counsel of the General Prosecutors;

Do hereby issue the following ordinance:

Article 1. A special state of martial law is instituted for a period of six months throughout the territory of the Republic of the Congo.

Article 2. The present ordinance is to be publicly posted and inserted in the *Moniteur Congolais*.

Article 3. Our Ministers of Justice and of National Defense are to be responsible for the execution of the present ordinance.

Executed in Leopoldville, August 16, 1960.

Kasavubu, President of the Republic. The Minister of Justice (absent), R. Mwamba, The Prime Minister and Minister of National Defense, Patrice Lumumba.

After his tour of Africa, on his return from the United States, Lumumba organized a Pan-African Conference, which was held in Leopoldville August 25-31. Justin Bomboko presided, and the official delegates from Tunisia, Liberia, Ethiopia, Morocco, the United Arab Republic, Mali, Togo, the Provisional Government of Algeria, Guinea, and Ghana, plus delegates from nonindependent African countries, met in the Palace of Culture.†*

The arrival of United Nations troops in Katanga at this time did not seriously disturb Tshombe's secessionist regime, and the African states did not renew their offer to provide the Congo with direct military aid, having decided that the only valid way of cooperating with the Congo was through United Nations channels.

In the text below, Lumumba outlines his entire Pan-African position, which constituted the fundamental ideological framework of his progressive program. This policy made him a truly exceptional figure on the Congolese scene, for he was practically the only political leader to link constantly the problem of Congolese revolution with the overall reality of Africa on the march.

* Bomboko has remained the minister of foreign affairs in every succeeding Congolese government, from Adoula's . . . to the present [1963].

† Lumumba's relations with Fulbert Youlou of the Brazzaville Congo were very bad, for he regarded the abbé as an agent of colonialism whose stake in the game was the balkanization of the Black Continent.

SPEECH OPENING THE PAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE OF LEOPOLDVILLE

Honorable Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen, Dear Comrades:

The Congolese people locked in combat are proud and happy to receive their brothers in the struggle in their country today.

To my government, to us Congolese, your presence here at such a moment is incontrovertible living proof of the African reality that our enemies have always denied and still stubbornly deny today. But as you know, reality is even more stubborn, and Africa is very much alive. It refuses to die so as to justify the opinions of the laggards of history, of the history that we have made with our own hands, our own skin, our own blood.

It is in meetings such as this that we have become aware of our personality and our dynamic solidarity. When we first met at conferences held in various cities of Africa and in the course of them posed the problem of decolonization, the imperialists did not believe we would ever achieve our goal.

Yet how far we have gone together since the first Conference of African Peoples held in Accra in December 1958!

Was it not just a short time after the meetings in Accra that the peoples of Angola, Algeria, the Congo, Kenya, Mozambique, Nyasaland, Rhodesia, and today Rwanda-Burundi began to fight even harder for their freedom?

Was it not after this historic conference that blazed the trail for the liberation of Africa that the popular liberation movement became so strong that nothing — neither storms nor force of arms nor repression — could stop it, or will be able to stop it in the future?

The work of this conference cannot help but hasten this movement to win the independence of the African continent.

Honorable Ministers, you leaders fighting for African freedom, it is your duty to show the world and our detractors once again that nothing can prevent us from reaching our common goal: the libera-

tion of Africa. We can truly attain this goal only if we remain united and stand shoulder to shoulder. Our solidarity has meaning only because it has no limits, and because we are finally aware that the fate of Africa is one and indivisible.

These are the profound reasons underlying the work that you are about to undertake. The purpose of this meeting is to draw up plans for a major summit conference, in the course of which our states must make decisions with regard to:

- (1) the total support by all African countries of the general struggle to further the interests of the Pan-African bloc;
- (2) the policy of neutralism, whose aim is genuine independence;
- (3) the removal of colonialist linguistic barriers through cultural exchanges;
- (4) commercial agreements between African countries;
- (5) the position of Africa as regards the European Common Market;
- (6) cooperation on the military plane;
- (7) studying the possibilities of setting up a high-powered radio transmitter in Leopoldville, to which all the African states will contribute;
- (8) planning and setting up a center for scientific research in Leopoldville within the framework of the Commission on Technical Cooperation.

Honorable Ministers, you are coming into personal contact with the reality of the African Congo, here on this very spot, in the very midst of a crisis that we must resolve. There is no doubt that your awareness of the future of our continent will enable you to carry out your work successfully. Your principal task is to plan the meeting of our chiefs of state, who will give concrete form to this African unity in whose name you have answered our call.

You are aware of the causes underlying what is currently being called the Congo crisis, which in reality is only the continuation of a struggle between forces of oppression and forces of liberation.

My government, which both represents and guarantees the sovereignty of the Congolese people, decided to call upon the United Nations when Belgian aggression first began.

The United Nations answered our appeal. The free world pronounced judgment. Belgium was condemned.

In order to enlighten international public opinion as to the real motives behind the drama in the Congo, I decided to go to New York.

On our return from the United States, we accepted the invitation of the chiefs of state of free Africa, who have unanimously given us proof of their fraternal support by taking a public stand.

The classic consequences of colonialism, which we have all experienced or are still experiencing in part, are particularly tenacious here: continuing military occupation, tribal divisions that have long been fostered and encouraged, destructive political opposition that has been deliberately planned, carefully coordinated, and bought for money.

You know how difficult it has been thus far for a newly independent state to do away with military bases set up by the former occupying powers. We must proclaim, here and now, that Africa will henceforth refuse to allow imperialist armed forces to remain on its soil. There must be no more Bizertes, Kitonas, Kaminas, Sidi Slimanes.

We have our own armies to defend our countries.

Our Force Publique, the victim of underhanded maneuvers, is also getting rid of colonialist structures so as to become a real national army, under the command of Congolese leaders.

Our internal difficulties, tribal quarrels, the focal points of political opposition, seem to be centered, by some strange chance, in regions where our mining resources and our power resources are richest. We know how they were deliberately fostered, and how even today they are being furthered within our borders.

Our Katanga, because of its uranium, its copper and gold, our Bakwanga in Kasai because of its diamonds, have become the focal

points of imperialist plots. The goal of these plots is the economic reconquest of our country.

One thing remains certain, and I solemnly proclaim it: the Congolese people will never permit themselves to be exploited again; any leader who attempts to take them down this path will be rejected by the nation.

The great stir that the Congolese problem has caused is an indication of how heavily Africa weighs upon the conscience of the world. By shattering the colonial framework, our countries, which only yesterday everyone tried to ignore, have upset the old world. Are those structures which are different from ours being questioned? Yes, right here in Africa. May they be safeguarded by the parties responsible for them in those countries where they have been found fitting and proper! This is no concern of ours. Our concern is our future, our destiny: a free Africa.

This is our year, you are witnesses to this, and actors in the drama. This year is that of our unconditional victory. It is the year of heroic Algeria, bathed in blood, Algeria the martyr, whose exemplary struggle reminds us that there can be no compromise with the enemy. It is the year of Angola, whose mouth has been gagged, that of South Africa enslaved, of Rwanda-Burundi in chains, of persecuted Kenya.

All of us know, the world knows, that Algeria is not French, that Angola is not Portuguese, that Kenya is not English, that Rwanda-Burundi is not Belgian. We know that Africa is not French or British or American or Russian; it is African.

We know what the goal of the West is. Yesterday it divided us at the tribal level, at the level of clans and rural districts. Because Africa is freeing itself, the West is trying today to divide us at the state level. It is trying to create antagonistic blocs and satellites, and to exploit this cold war status by accentuating our differences, thereby perpetuating its eternal guardianship.

I do not believe I am mistaken when I maintain that a united Africa wants nothing to do with such conniving. That is why we

have adopted the policy of positive neutralism, the one valid policy that will enable us to express our personality.

In our eyes, there is no Western or communist bloc, only nations whose attitude toward Africa will dictate what ours will be toward them.

We refuse to be the battleground of international intrigues, the focus and the prize of cold wars.

I offer solemn tribute to President Bourguiba, His Majesty Mohammed V, President Sekou Touré, President Tubman, President N'Krumah, and President Olympio, whom I have had the honor of meeting during this crucial period.

And I regret that important obligations prevented me from answering the invitation of President Nasser and His Majesty Haile Selassie.

As militants for African unity, all these leaders have said "no" to the attempt to strangle Africa.

All of them immediately realized that the colonialists, in their efforts to regain their former hold, have endangered not only the genuine independence of the Congo, but also the very existence of all the independent countries of Africa. They have all realized that if the Congo dies, all Africa will be plunged into the darkness of defeat and slavery.

This is yet another living proof of African unity. It is the concrete proof of this unity, without which we would be helpless to confront the monstrous appetites of imperialism day after day.

All these statesmen have thus borne witness that one does not *debate* this basic principle — one *fights* to defend it.

We are here to defend Africa, our patrimony, together! We must confront the concerted action of the imperialist powers, of which the Belgian colonialists are merely the tool, with a common front bringing together the free peoples of Africa and those still fighting for their independence. The enemies of freedom must be brought face to face with a coalition of free men.

For the moment our common fate is being decided here in the

Congo. It is here, in fact, that a new battle for the emancipation and the rehabilitation of Africa is being joined.

Pursuing the struggle whose *primary* objective is to restore the dignity of the African, the Congolese people have chosen immediate and complete *independence*.

By so doing, the Congolese people knew that they would not rid themselves in one stroke of the colonialist brand they had been marked with, that having their independence recognized *de jure* was only a first step, that the effort they would be called upon to make would be a long-term one and would perhaps bring even more hardships.

We have not chosen the easy path, but rather the path that led to man's pride and freedom.

We have realized that as long as a country is not independent, as long as it has not taken its fate into its own hands, it lacks what is most essential. And this remains true no matter what standards of living the colonized enjoy, and no matter what positive features a colonial system may have to offer.

The more we were rejected, depersonalized, and reduced to the level of animals, the harder we fought to fulfill our stubborn desire for immediate independence, with no waiting period and without compromise.

What use would there have been in delaying, in compromising further, when we were already well aware that sooner or later we would have to review everything we had done, and think everything through again by ourselves? We knew that we would have to create new structures fulfilling the requirements for a genuinely African future for our country, to revise the methods that had been forced upon us, and above all to rediscover our most intimate selves and rid ourselves of mental attitudes and complexes and habits that colonization had trapped us in for centuries.

Our only choice was to take exactly the opposite course: it was freedom or continued slavery. There can be no middle way between freedom and slavery. We chose to pay the price of freedom.

We are demonstrating our ability to play the role of free men who day by day are taking the destinies of their nations and their continent in their own hands.

We urgently need peace and harmony; our international policy is based on the loyal cooperation and friendship of all the peoples of the world. We want to be a force for peaceful progress, a power for reconciliation. An independent and united Africa will make a substantial positive contribution to world peace.

As long as it is torn apart and divided up into spheres of rival influence, it can only make global antagonisms more violent and international tensions more severe.

Our international relations are not discriminatory. The Congo is open to all, and we are ready to go anywhere.

Our only requirement is that our sovereignty be recognized and respected.

We will open our doors to technicians of any nationality who are moved by a spirit of friendship, loyalty, and cooperation and have made up their minds not to dominate Africans but serve Africa. They will be given a warm welcome in our country.

I am certain that I am expressing the feelings of all my brothers when I say that Africa is opposed to no one nation in particular, but that she is on her guard against any further attempts to dominate and exploit us, both in the area of material interests and in the intellectual sphere. Our aim is to restore Africa's cultural, philosophical, ethical, and social values, and to safeguard our resources. But our vigilance does not mean isolation. Ever since it has become independent, the Congo has publicly expressed its desire to participate in the life of free nations, and this desire has taken concrete form in its request for membership in the United Nations.

Honorable Ministers and Dear Comrades: I cannot tell you how proud and happy the government and the Congolese people are today because of your presence, which is that of Africa.

The time for drawing up plans is now past. Africa today must act. The peoples of Africa are waiting impatiently for such action

to begin. African unity and solidarity are no longer mere dreams; we must now embody them in concrete decisions.

With one mind, one will, and one heart, we will soon make Africa, our Africa, a really free and independent continent.

Long live African independence and unity!

Forward, Africans, to total liberation!

Part Four

September 1960 - January 17, 1961

For weeks the situation in Leopoldville and the provinces had been deteriorating. Several political assassinations of members of Parliament had taken place. A state of siege was proclaimed. All the colonialist powers and colonialist groups came to the aid of Katanga. On August 8, the independence of the autonomous state of South Kasai was proclaimed by Antoine Kalonji, who declared on the ninth in Elisabethville (whence he had come to seek Tshombe's aid against Lumumba) that it was a "Mining Province" or a "Mining Republic," which had chosen Bakwanga as its capital. (It was also the diamond capital of the Congo.) The situation in Kasai was desperate; the mutual massacres of Lulus and Balubas were frightful, and thousands of starving refugees clogged the roads.

The Central Government endeavored to break the back of secession movements by sending the Congolese National Army to fight them. It was Colonel Mobutu who decided to send troops on a punitive expedition to Kasai. At this point, President Kasavubu's decision to dismiss his prime minister resounded like a clap of thunder in the skies of Congolese politics. He announced it on the radio at 8:15 P.M. on September 5.

But at 9:05, less than three quarters of an hour after this speech by the chief of state, Patrice Lumumba appeared before the microphone in turn and spoke over the national radio.

A declaration by Mr. Kasavubu to the effect that the government has been dismissed has just been broadcast over the radio. In the name of the government, in the name of the entire nation, I deny this report. The president of the republic and I have at no time met to discuss the subject. The government has been democratically elected by the people. It has the confidence of the people. It

can be removed from office only by the people. No one, not even the president of the republic, has the right to dismiss a government elected by the people; only the people can do so. The government remains in office and is continuing its mandate: to defend the people, the unity of the country, and its territorial integrity. It is we who appointed Mr. Kasavubu, who did not have the confidence of the people. Twelve of us deputies had been endeavoring to find a compromise solution. If Mr. Kasavubu is chief of state, it is because we wanted him to be. We could be as high-handed as he has been: we might withdraw the trust we have placed in him and declare that he is no longer chief of state. It is up to you, the people, to pass judgment today, to choose between a man who is playing the game of the Belgian imperialists and a government that is working day and night to defend the people.

[*This declaration by Mr. Lumumba is applauded by a number of people in the studio. Shouts of "Long live Lumumba!" "Long live the prime minister," and "Long live the republic," are heard.*]

At 9:30 P.M. and again at 10:05 that same evening, Lumumba spoke on the radio once more. He openly accused the chief of state of treason: "He is no longer the chief of state; the government has assumed the sovereign prerogatives of our republic."

I wish to announce that a meeting of ministers will be held this evening to examine the situation created by the unexpected declaration of Mr. Kasavubu, who has publicly betrayed the nation. I have not been consulted by Mr. Kasavubu, or by any minister or member of Parliament. The democratic process allows a government to remain in office only if it is elected by the people and enjoys the people's confidence. We have their confidence. We have proved to the people and to the entire world that the national and popular government, which you brought to power in a free election in order to defend your interests and your national patrimony, has thus far worked to further the superior interests of the nation as a

whole. We have spared no effort; we have worked twenty-four hours out of twenty-four to defend the people, who have long suffered from the oppression of Belgian colonialists. Our one aim is to serve you, to defend you.

The government rejoices tonight at the victory it has won today. Yes, it is indeed a victory, because today the people have realized who is really defending them, who is working for them and who is working for the Belgians, who is for the country and who is against it, who is honest and who is not. In no country of the world that enjoys democracy and freedom has a government been toppled or its leaders removed from office except by that nation's legislature. The entire country has elected its representatives — your deputies and senators. Without consulting Parliament, which is the only master of the nation, without asking the advice of the government in power, which was elected by the people and by Parliament, Mr. Kasavubu has betrayed us. We elected him chief of state, even though he did not deserve such an office, because we thought he was a brother. We paid him this honor even though the people had no confidence in him.

Not even three months, not even six months have gone by since, and already he has turned against the people. He is seeking to destroy the government of the people, the democratic government, the popular government, which has bitterly fought the Belgian aggressors — the enemies of our national independence and our freedom, the government that has earned your confidence and your respect, the government that today has saved the Congo, the government that recently issued to all the African states an invitation which declared that Leopoldville is not only the capital of the Congo, but the capital of all of Africa. At the very moment that the Congo was beginning to move ahead, at the very moment that the Congo had earned the admiration of the entire world, Mr. Kasavubu has dealt it a severe blow, so as to drag the republic in the mud, so as to drag the government and the entire nation in the mud.

But the people are still on their feet. The Belgian imperialists with their arms, with their tear gas grenades, their arrests, their prison sentences, their butchery have not attained their goal. Will Mr. Kasavubu attain his tomorrow? No, he will not. The Congolese National Movement first of all, and then the African Solidarity party, the Balubakat, the Céréa, and the other nationalist parties, the parties that are in power, will withdraw their trust in him. He is no longer the chief of state now. The government is now assuming the prerogatives of power in our republic. We are going to take the necessary measures this evening to ensure your protection and guarantee our territorial integrity, in accordance with the resolution passed by the Security Council of the United Nations. We are going to call a meeting of Parliament, which has been flouted and insulted by Mr. Kasavubu. Parliament will also take a stand, and I ask the United Nations, the free world, not to meddle in the internal affairs of the Congolese state, not to become the accomplices of a Belgian maneuver, because what has happened today is a Belgian maneuver carried out through Mr. Kasavubu, a plot hatched by Belgian and French imperialists. Whenever I went to Mr. Kasavubu's office, I found these men there. They are the ones who have plotted this entire affair. I ask the United Nations to continue their mission of peace and pacification to ensure the withdrawal of Belgian troops. The internal affairs of the state are precisely that, and I ask the United Nations not to forsake its mission, not to get involved in the dissension that has brought the government and Mr. Kasavubu face to face. We are going to settle this matter ourselves through democratic procedures within our Parliament, within the framework of our national institutions; I ask the United Nations not to complicate the situation and to allow the Congolese people themselves to exercise their sovereign powers and resolve their problems.

Brothers, remain united, march hand in hand, victory is ours. Our republic no longer has a chief of state; it has only a popular government. The Congo is not a monarchy. There is nothing but

a democratic government in any of the African countries. This system of a government that is a thing apart, of a chief of state who behaves exactly like a king, was instituted by Belgian colonialists so as one day to sabotage our independence. And you now have proof of this. There is only a democratic government, as in all the African countries that stand behind us. Imperialists, their maneuvers, their plots — so many betrayals of the world's consciousness!

I address a solemn appeal to all African countries, to all the heads of independent states in Africa, for what is going on in the Congo today puts the independence and the unity of all African peoples to a severe test. What has happened just now in the Congo, under the pressure of Belgian imperialists, is an attack on the Congolese people. It is an outright violation of the resolution passed by unanimous vote only a few days ago by all the African countries that met together at the Leopoldville Conference. I ask the great powers, which have often fought for freedom and justice between men and nations, to support the efforts of the legal government of the Republic of the Congo. This government is determined to restore order, to guarantee the safety of all citizens. A referendum among the populace would be ample proof of how the people trust us, and those who attempt to mislead international opinion will realize tomorrow that they have been badly mistaken. We have never attempted to impose our will by force; on the contrary, we were elected by the people. The Congolese people back their government.

That same evening, September 5, an extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers was called. The meeting lasted until 3 A.M., and at 5:25 A.M. on September 6 Lumumba read a government communiqué over Radio Leopoldville.

COMMUNIQUE FROM THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

The Council of Ministers, having met in extraordinary session Monday, September 5, 1960, communicates the following to Congolese and international public opinion:

The Fundamental Law of May 19, 1960, the law of the land in our republic until such time as Parliament establishes a new constitution, has set specific limits on the prerogatives of the chief of state.

Article 21 reads as follows: "The chief of state has no other powers than those expressly granted him by the aforesaid law. He exercises these powers, notably those mentioned in articles 16, 22, and 32, only under the terms set forth in articles 17, 19, and 20."

The person of the chief of state is inviolable; article 19 thus clearly sets forth that only the government appointed by the Legislative Chambers is responsible. Article 20 stipulates: "No act of the chief of state is binding unless it is countersigned by a minister, who by this fact alone becomes responsible for it."

Moreover, paragraph 2 of the same article adds: "A verbal or written order from the chief of state can in no case absolve a minister from responsibility."

It is clear from the foregoing that the chief of state has deliberately violated the Fundamental Law and gone beyond the prerogatives granted him by the Parliament, the government, and the entire nation, by declaring that he has dismissed the government of the republic without regard for any established legal procedures.

Since it is responsible only to the nation's elected representatives, the government considers the verbal order announced by the chief of state on the national radio on September 5, 1960, to be null and void.

The chief of state has heeded bad counsel and been sorely mistaken in his attempts to take advantage of article 22, which grants

him the power to "appoint and dismiss the prime minister and the ministers."

Article 21, paragraph 2, specifically states that "the chief of state exercises these powers, notably those mentioned in articles 16, 22, and 32, only under the terms set forth in articles 17, 19, and 20." These articles in no way grant the chief of state the right to act directly on his own personal initiative without regard to the legal procedure established in the aforementioned articles.

Having thus violated the oath of office he solemnly took on June 28, 1960, in the presence of the government and the two Chambers meeting in joint session, the chief of state has committed an act of *high treason*, which automatically makes it impossible for him to perform his constitutional functions.

The ministers, having met in extraordinary session, declare *that the chief of state has been removed from office*, and that they have decided to convene the Parliament of the republic as soon as possible.

As they await the decision of the latter, the ministers, in council assembled, assume all the prerogatives granted the chief of state, Mr. Kasavubu, under the terms of the Fundamental Law of May 19, 1960.

In so doing, the government applies, in its entirety and to the letter, article 33 of the aforementioned law, to which Mr. Kasavubu referred in his radio declaration, a law that he was the first to violate. Article 33 states: "If Parliament is not in session or if the chief of state finds it impossible to assume his functions, the prime minister, after due deliberation in the Council of Ministers, is to convene the Chambers as soon as possible, within thirty days at the latest."

In accordance with paragraph 2 of the aforementioned article, the Council of Ministers will assume the functions of the chief of state until such time as the Chambers have rendered a decision.

The Council of Ministers cites the following points made by Mr. Kasavubu in his speech:

1. Mr. Kasavubu accuses the government of having plunged the country into a frightful civil war, whereas the government has merely defended the country against the brutal and unjustified aggression unleashed against the republic by the Belgian troops.

The government therefore immediately called upon the United Nations in order that a peaceful solution might be found as soon as possible. It is well known that all the nations meeting together condemned the Belgian aggression and supported the unity and the territorial integrity of the republic.

2. He asked the national army to put an end to its fratricidal quarrels. All the people know that the Congolese soldiers, eager to defend the country, have merely safeguarded the integrity of national territory.

Contrary to the gratuitous accusations of Mr. Kasavubu, the troops of the national army did not engage in any fratricidal quarrel. The government and the Congolese people have nothing but praise for the patriotism and heroism with which they have thus far defended the nation against aggression and the seditious movements spread throughout the country by Belgian imperialists and their cohorts.

3. Mr. Kasavubu has asked the national army to lay down its arms and not regroup until after a period of training and instruction. The government views this declaration as an indication that Mr. Kasavubu intends to have the Congo occupied militarily by foreign troops and thus prevent the troops of the national army from entering Katanga to liberate their brothers who have been oppressed and enslaved by the Belgians and their straw man, Tshombe.

The illegal act proposed by Mr. Kasavubu proves to the world that he and his advisers wish to see the Congo fall apart in a thousand pieces.

The Congolese people's feeling in this regard is well known: they will fight to the end to defend the unity and the integrity of their national territory.

4. Mr. Kasavubu declares that the United Nations will grant

him resources to help him carry out his plans. He has asked it to assume responsibility for maintaining peace and order. The government is aware that Mr. Kasavubu and his secret advisers are attempting to use the United Nations to settle a purely internal conflict.

Faithful to its charter, the United Nations has always refused to meddle in the internal affairs of a sovereign state.

The legal government of the Republic of the Congo firmly hopes that, like the United Nations, no nation will lend assistance or aid of any sort to those who are attempting to prevent this government from exercising its sovereignty throughout the country. Because it is certain that it enjoys the proven trust of the entire nation and has been assured of the support of the Security Council and all nations that love freedom and justice, the legal government of the Republic of the Congo assures international opinion that it will spare no effort to ensure the triumph of its just cause.

At this point, the facilities of Radio Leopoldville were still available to partisans of the prime minister. At 12:30 P.M. on September 6, the African Solidarity party broadcast a statement supporting Lumumba and openly accusing the chief of state of being a tool of Belgian and French collaborators.

On September 7 the Chamber met to discuss Kasavubu's decision to dismiss Lumumba, and Lumumba's decision to dismiss Kasavubu. The debate began at 11:55 A.M. and ended at 4:50 P.M. Several deputies gave speeches supporting one position or the other, and then the prime minister answered the members of Parliament, analyzing each of the problems raised, especially that concerning the situation in the provinces.

LUMUMBA'S REPLY TO THE CHAMBER

Mr. President, dear honorable deputies, I take the floor in accordance with article 38 of the Fundamental Law, which specifies:

"Ministers may participate in debates only in the Chamber of which they are members. They may enter either of the Chambers and must be heard when they so request."

You must have adequate information about problems that concern you. You are elected representatives of the nation and it is the government's duty to keep you informed of its activities. I will be happy to answer all the remarks and criticisms put forward by the members of the opposition. The government is always in favor of constructive parliamentary opposition because such opposition is the practice in every country. This opposition must not become destructive opposition within our Parliament, however.

With regard to the arrest of certain members of Parliament,* I am going to give you a general explanation first: during the parliamentary recess, certain elected representatives, abusing the trust that the people had placed in them, took part in an action that favored neither the interests of the people who had elected them nor those of the nation as a whole. I cite article 66 of the Fundamental Law, which stipulates: "No member of either Chamber may be prosecuted or arrested on a criminal charge without the authorization of the Chamber of which he is a member, unless apprehended in *flagrante delicto*. [Applause.]

"No member of either Chamber may be arrested when Parliament is not in session without authorization from the officers of the Chamber of which he is a member, except if apprehended in *flagrante delicto*, or legally indicted, or subject to a definite court sentence.

"The detention or prosecution of a member of either Chamber may be suspended if the Chamber of which he is a member so requests, although such suspension is to be effective only for the duration of the parliamentary session in which such a request is made."

* Minister Delvaux had just been arrested. He had signed the order dismissing Lumumba (along with Justin Bomboko). As a matter of fact, the Kalonji-MNC was the only party not represented in the government. (Editor's note.)

But what has happened? Certain members of the opposition are committing serious crimes and setting the populace a very bad example. I have documents proving that they are guilty, and I am not the one who compiled these records. No government, no nation, no chief of state anywhere in the world could tolerate such a situation.

The Case of Senator Fele

Here, for instance, is the case of one member of Parliament who was arrested: Senator Fele, a member of the MNC. I stress this fact in order to contradict Mr. Anekonzapa, who claims that in Equateur Province only members of Parliament who do not belong to the MNC are being arrested, though as a matter of fact it is the Puna that is in power in this province, and also in order to call your attention to the fact that very often statements are made that do not correspond to the truth. The MNC has also been receiving complaints from its own militants who have been given sentences. This is what the senator is accused of: during the parliamentary recess, he went to Stanleyville, where he passed himself off as a minister sent by Lumumba, and asked a warrant officer from his tribe to put a detachment of soldiers at his disposal in order to organize a congress. He took these soldiers with him to Isangi, the territory in which he was born, where he called a congress, in the course of which he decided that his tribe should no longer obey the territorial administrator; since this territory was not in the hands of the Topokes, the tribe should set up its own territory. Moreover, he sent telegrams to the United Nations refusing to recognize the unity of the Congo, calling for a confederation, and approving Tshombe's action in Katanga. There is very serious evidence against him in his police record, including supporting documents and the testimony of tribal chieftains in the area. The Senate formed a committee to investigate Senator Fele's case, and this committee came to the government to get information. I received them and allowed them to see Fele's record. The committee read it and took note of the

evidence of Senator Fele's guilt. At the request of the Senate and in accordance with the provisions of the law, he has been released on bail but must still appear in court. It thus cannot be said that there was no reason for arresting Mr. Fele.

The Case of Mr. Bolikango

Before he went to Equateur Province, Mr. Bolikango came to see me, accompanied by Mr. Dombo. The latter had said to me: "Lumumba, you were the one who pulled strings to get Mr. Kasavubu elected chief of state, when there already were two candidates for the office. You had a parliamentary majority and you could have gotten Mr. Bolikango elected chief of state, but you didn't, because you were afraid of the Bakongos. We are going to Equateur; there will be bloodshed, because we are going to set up the Republic of Equateur." Mr. Bolikango and Mr. Dombo went to Equateur Province, in the company of the consul-general of Belgium, Mr. Adriaensens. They drew up a document that said: "The Republic of Equateur must be proclaimed, and there must be a break with the Central Government; the unity of the Congo must therefore be rejected." They put pressure on the Provincial Government of Equateur to accept their plan. Mr. Adriaensens drew up certain documents that are in our possession, promising the help of Belgium in carrying out this plan.

Mr. Bolikango went to Lisala, where he stirred up Bangala soldiers and tried to get them to drive their Bakongo comrades out. I received telegrams from the police in Lisala revealing this maneuver and warning me that if I didn't order Bolikango's arrest within two days, they would proceed to arrest him on their own authority. These telegrams are here in the file on him. It was the president of Equateur Province, a representative of the Puna elected by popular vote, and his entire government, the majority of whose members belong to the Puna, the party that Mr. Bolikango is the leader of, who demanded that he be arrested; it was not Lumumba or the central government that called for his arrest. When the members

of this government came to Leopoldville, the members of the Puna who live in the capital put pressure on them and threatened them, thus forcing them to retract their statements. But the provincial president nonetheless went to see the minister of justice to ask him why he hadn't had the leader of the Puna party arrested.

Mr. Bolikango has just been arrested. When I learned of this, Mr. Ngege and Mr. Ngwenza pointed out that, regardless of the way he had behaved, Mr. Bolikango's arrest would create a delicate situation; they asked me to prevent his imprisonment at all costs. I made arrangements: the minister of the interior went to Coquilhatville to settle the matter amicably. He came back, and no more was said about the matter. A short time later, I received a telegram informing me that Mr. Bolikango had been arrested. Where? In Gemena. By whose order? By order of the Provincial Government, because Mr. Bolikango was still waging his campaign despite everything: "We must drive all the Mongos out; we must drive out all the tribes who don't belong in the province; we must set up a republic," he declared. He was taken by police officers from Gemena to Coquilhatville, and the Provincial Government then sent him here under escort. The law gives provincial governments broad autonomy; therefore, if a man is arrested by provincial authorities because he has committed serious crimes, how can I, Lumumba, be expected to oppose this and order him set free? Either we respect the law or we don't. In Belgium, for instance, an individual would not proclaim the province of Antwerp independent in order to make a mockery of territorial integrity, just because he belongs to the opposition or is the president of a party. If that happened, the person who proclaimed such a secession would be arrested that very day, whatever his title might be.

The Situation in Kasai

As for that, I myself come from this province. When Mr. Kalonji encountered his first difficulties with the Belgians, I declared publicly that if Kalonji were not set free, I would have myself

taken prisoner too to demonstrate my solidarity. Every time I visited Luluabourg, I stayed with Mr. Badibanga; I lived with him. We went all over Kasai for a month and a half to protect Kalonji from attack by the Balubas. I have never had words with Kalonji.

When we went to Luluabourg with the chief of state, we received a delegation from the Muluba Solidarity movement, and also one from Mr. Kalonji's party. They told us they wanted a so-called "Mining Province." The chief of state and I answered: "We don't have the right to sign an agreement about this matter here and now. Draw up your demand in the proper form and send it to the Central Government, which will set up a commission to study the problem; surveyors will be sent out to set up the boundaries, because just setting up a province isn't enough: you must also see to it that the inhabitants have decent living conditions. The government will be obliged to set up dispensaries, to lay out roads, to build schools, and so on . . . this will cost millions of francs. If you have plans drawn up for all that, submit them to Parliament, which will decide, for neither the prime minister nor the chief of state can authorize you to set up an independent province; only Parliament can decide that." [Applause.]

I advised Mr. Ngalula to take as his model the solution that had been found for the province of Leopoldville, where there had been dissension between the Abako and the African Solidarity party. The Abako had disregarded all legal procedure and set up an independent province. With the intercession of Mr. Kasavubu himself, we found a compromise solution; since the Fundamental Law makes no provisions for a vice-president of the Provincial Assembly, we appointed Mr. Diomi vice-president of the Provincial Government. I suggested that he apply the same solution in Kasai until such time as Baluba Province could be legally created, through a decision of Parliament. We even assured him that we would be willing to intercede in his favor so that he would be named vice-president of the government. He replied that this did not meet with his approval. I myself proposed that Baluba administrators

and only Baluba administrators be appointed throughout Baluba territory in order to restore peace among them. I gave Mr. Kalonji every possible guarantee of this. But unfortunately there is no such thing as legality as far as he is concerned. Even though all this was just a simple question of the proper procedure, he wanted none of it. And what is happening now? Mr. Kalonji is making deals with the director of Forminière; he is arranging with the board of directors of Forminière to have planes sent, loaded with arms and ammunition. These planes are registered under the name "Air-Kasai."

We have intercepted all the telegrams regarding this matter. Headquarters for the operation were set up in Brazzaville. Certain Balubas crossed the river, boarded French or Belgian planes in Brazzaville, and flew ammunition to Bakwanga; some of these planes were intercepted in Luluabourg. Two of these individuals have been appointed generals and a third one a colonel in Kalonji's army. Mrs. Kalonji was aboard one of these planes. I have a list of the passengers who were arrested. The Belgians and the French have violated the integrity of our national territory. You are aware that flying over the air space of a foreign country without authorization is a very serious crime. Since it was already dark and the Bakwanga airfield is not marked, these planes landed in Luluabourg and were taken over by our troops. Mrs. Kalonji had 720,000 francs and seven pistols on her person; she was accompanied by a group of fascists who had taken delivery of arms furnished by the Belgians and the French in order to equip Kalonji's army. I received a telegram from the Provincial Government informing me that the plane had been impounded and its crew arrested. I immediately ordered Mrs. Kalonji's release and the detention of all the other passengers. This was done. Contrary to what has been said by honorable Deputy Badibanga, Mrs. Kalonji is not in prison with the others; orders to give her complete freedom were issued immediately. Kalonji then set up headquarters in Katanga. If you had been listening to Radio Brazzaville, you would have heard that

300 men have left this province for Bakwanga, armed to the teeth by the Belgians. You have no idea of the arms they have. This is a huge conspiracy. Is this democracy? Tell me, could any government in power today, tomorrow, or the day after tomorrow tolerate such acts? If so, opposition and democracy in your opinion would mean that anyone who wanted to could create his own little republic whenever he pleased; anyone would have the right to go to the French to ask for arms to massacre his own brothers! . . . When the government takes measures to put an end to this state of affairs and sends troops to stop agitators, you blame it and accuse it of oppressing people.

What is now happening in the midst of this outright crisis? The Abako has made arrangements to send envoys to Katanga — Radio Brazzaville has announced this — in the form of a delegation made up of members of the Abako, the Puna, and the Kalonji-MNC. They have boarded a plane in Brazzaville and are headed for Elisabethville. There is clear proof of this — it has even been announced over the radio. The Abako's complicity in the Katanga affair is plain to see. It is my duty to denounce it, and I will never be afraid to speak the truth, for I did not force myself upon the nation as prime minister; I was freely elected, just as you were; I have the right to defend the people to the very end.

The Affair of Mr. Kasavubu

In all frankness, I personally admire Mr. Kasavubu a great deal. He has always been my close friend; at no time whatsoever has there been the slightest quarrel between us, either before or after independence. We have acted together up until now.

I still remember that Parliament did not want us to continue to travel about the country together. I know, of course, that you were concerned for the safety of our lives. The chief of state told me forthwith how indignant he was at Parliament's position. I met with Mr. Kasavubu every day; if there were questions to examine he would telephone me, and we would telephone each other all

the time and arrange either to go to his home or to have me go to his office. At no time did Mr. Kasavubu voice the slightest reproach, the slightest criticism of the policy being followed by the government. We were aware that the country was in imminent danger, because of the plots being hatched. You deputies have no idea, but as head of government I have knowledge of so many of them that it would take me at least a week to tell you about them.

That is why we decided that we would have to take action immediately in the interests of the country, that is to say, to declare a state of emergency. We made this decision together, not just the government alone or the chief of state alone; even the draft of the decree drawn up by the government and the chief of state was drastically modified by the chief of state's legal adviser; Mr. Kasavubu then signed it. And if he didn't approve — [*A member of the opposition interrupts the prime minister and says that it is up to Parliament to decide whether a state of emergency exists and draw up the decree. The prime minister answers:*]

No, this is not up to Parliament; I will prove that to you in a moment. By signing this order, the chief of state recognized the danger threatening his country, and if he had not approved of this measure, he would not have signed it. It is because of this decision of the chief of state that the government has acted, because one article of the Fundamental Law states: "The chief of state can draw up ordinances and regulations that are within the province of the executive branch." The one Mr. Kasavubu signed was not a formal law; if it had been, Parliament would have had to vote on it. A provision exists whereby the government may make decisions at any time, to be ratified by Parliament within six months. The government's acts have thus always been entirely within the law. No one, no deputy, not even the opposition, can point to the slightest act on the part of the government that is not in conformity with the Fundamental Law. I defy anyone to do so, for there has been talk of the illegality of the action the government has taken. This is not true. Everything has been done according to the

law. The friends of the Abako are no longer an opposition party; they are an obstruction party. I am telling you this and speaking to you frankly so that you may have all the facts. When the government was formed, I personally suggested to Mr. Kasavubu that Mr. Pinzi be appointed minister of foreign affairs. And what was his reply? "I don't want that; you're dealing with me; there's no need to call on any other Mukongo; I'm the only one you should deal with." Then at least two weeks ago I suggested giving Mr. Nzeza-Landu a post in the government, because we wanted to make changes in it. And what did he reply? "That's out of the question; these are all people who are still against me." [*The majority applauds, while the opposition looks crestfallen and murmurs.*] I am here to speak some home truths. Everything the deputies of the Abako are doing today is obstructive. Even among themselves, there are a number who are against Mr. Kasavubu; they are beginning to fall out among themselves! I for my part have never discussed this question of the Bakongos; they are brothers. Moreover, in order to prove to you that I have never at any time been against Mr. Kasavubu, I must tell you that if he is chief of state today, it is because of me; it is thanks to me, Lumumba, that Mr. Kasavubu has been put in such an elevated position.

[*Frantic applause from the majority. Mr. Colin shouts from his bench: "Bravo! Bravo!"*]

There were two candidates, Mr. Kasavubu and Mr. Bolikango; each of them came to me to ask me to use my parliamentary majority in his favor. I told them: "I don't want to become chief of state myself because I'm still too young; I would rather work. I would like one of the two of you to have this post." I know that certain deputies, even some from the opposition, did not want Mr. Kasavubu to be appointed chief of state because he is a separatist; they preferred Mr. Bolikango. The danger that these individuals feared has now materialized. [*Applause from the majority; a few noises and murmurs from the opposition benches.*] If I ask the elected representatives of the nation to dismiss Mr. Kasavubu as

chief of state, he won't be chief of state any more. [*"Go ahead and try!" the Abako group shouts.*] Yes, I repeat, thanks to our political strength, he won't be chief of state any more. I don't need to do this because I am the one, along with other parties and my own, who saw the danger of secession and said: "Let's get together; Kasavubu and Bolikango are both brothers of ours; let's look for an area of agreement and safeguard the unity of the country." We got together then; I talked the matter over with Mr. Gizenga and with friends in the African Solidarity party, and we all eventually agreed to vote for Mr. Kasavubu. So after having freely elected him yesterday, after having put him in power, we can't remove him from office today.

[*Noises and murmurs from a few benches. "You're going to dismiss him anyway," Mr. Mopipi interjects.*]

Certain of our brothers, Bakongo deputies if you please, are against Mr. Kasavubu, against the Mukongos. What course were events about to take in Leopoldville Province? The Abako tried to hold a congress, the outcome of which was to be the proclamation of the Republic of the Lower Congo. [*"No! No!" the Bakongo deputies protest.*] Yes, yes, that's a proven fact, and we must not fail to recognize the authority of the Provincial Government, whose leaders are from the PSA. There are certain things I could reveal to you, but I prefer not to tell you about them. [*"Reveal them!" the opposition demands.*] When there were demonstrations in the cité, didn't the chief of state demand that Mr. Peti-Peti be removed from office for not permitting a parade, for preventing the chief of state from passing through his commune? He told me to remove him from office for that! [*Laughter from Mr. Peti-Peti.*] Do you want me to reveal all that? And what did I reply? "I refuse to." As for Mr. Kama's appointment to the post of state commissioner, when I presented my government team, everything was settled, everybody agreed, and Mr. Kama was appointed state commissioner of the province of Leopoldville.

The Parliament voted, and then secret deals were made. Mr.

Kama's appointment was approved by the Senate. The minister of the interior drew up the document appointing him more than a month ago, but Mr. Kasavubu refused to sign it; he refused to make the appointment because he wanted a Mukongo to occupy this post. Do you think that's honest? When the Senate had already approved and confirmed the appointment of a candidate whose name was submitted by the government, the chief of state refuses to appoint him! Mr. Kama came to me and objected violently, is that not so? Is that what you call democracy? If we had voted Bolikango in as chief of state, if we had not made the wrong choice, I don't believe we'd be having all this trouble we're going through now.

The Affair of Russia

There is talk of communism; all sorts of stories are going around about me. Do you know, my dear friends, that certain individuals are playing imperialism's game? During the electoral campaign, the Catholic missions printed pamphlets and distributed them everywhere, and sermons were even delivered in church telling people not to vote for Lumumba, not to vote for Kashamura. Did the people listen to them? No! The people voted for us; there is no point in even reminding you of that, for you know how the elections turned out. I don't mind in the slightest when people call me a communist; I'm not one and I never will be. [Applause.] The real facts, my dear honorable deputies, are these: since I have been prime minister, I have been visited time and again by trade missions from the United States, France, Germany, Belgium and so on . . . and they have proposed one agreement after another to me. I have not accepted them, and because they have realized that there is no way to corrupt our government, they are waging a campaign against it.

When the disturbances first started, I decided not to call on any one bloc or nation; we asked the United Nations for help, because it is neutral; we were the ones who called on them, not the mem-

bers of the opposition who are talking about communism. The United Nations answered our appeal and forced the Belgian troops to clear out of the country. The resolution of July 14 states that "we authorize the secretary-general of the United Nations, in co-operation with the Congolese government, to take all measures necessary to furnish the military aid we need." When the United Nations [troops] arrived, the country was in the midst of two conflicts: an external one with Belgium and an internal one. Do you think Tshombe is really the one who is behind what is happening in Katanga? No! Who provided all the planes that are in his province right this minute? It was the Belgians; and they also gave him the arms and ammunition stored in the depots on the base in Kamina. Where is the plane that the Central Government turned over to Mr. Kasavubu for his personal use, the one we traveled in shortly after independence? The Belgians took it away and gave it to Tshombe. [Applause.] Since our command plane had been taken away from us, I asked the secretary-general of the United Nations to help us, to lend us another one so that we could restore order in the country. The secretary-general said: "This is not of the slightest concern to me." Because of these arms provided by the Belgians, dozens of our brothers are being killed every day in Katanga. You are not aware of what is happening in this province, where a very powerful radio transmitter has just been installed that broadcasts every day. Where did Tshombe get the money to install it? What the Belgians have already done with Tshombe, they're now doing with Kalonji.

I went to the United Nations to defend our cause myself, so that no nation would meddle in our affairs, because the secretary-general of the United Nations wouldn't help us. He said that he could not interfere in an internal conflict and that the only reason he had come was to get the Belgians to leave. I asked him whether the United Nations wouldn't intervene if we were being murdered. He replied that it would not. Not only have our airplanes been stolen; they have also taken arms from us. Not one soldier has a

weapon in Equateur Province; the Belgian troops have seized them all. What reason does our government have for existing if it cannot protect the people?

When I asked Mr. Bunche for a plane to take me to the United States, he told me he didn't have one, but that he could arrange for me to borrow a Soviet plane that had just flown in provisions. I telephoned the United States ambassador to tell him I would rather travel in an American plane. Did he put a plane at my disposal? No! [Applause.] I was then obliged to ask Ghana, to ask Mr. Kwame N'Krumah, to help me. He lent me a plane, thanks to which I was able to make the trip. Even though the United Nations had come here to help us, it refused me a plane, despite my being the head of government. Recently a delegation of members of Parliament and the vice-president of the council went to America so that Parliament could see what we were doing and realize that our policy was unchanged, and thus not be inclined to mistrust me. That was why I went to America with a commission of deputies and senators. Mr. Weregere, who headed this mission, did a magnificent job, bringing to light a great many of the irregularities and underhanded dealings the Belgians had engaged in, to our detriment, within the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Can it be said that we have failed to call on Parliament to help us in our task? When Mr. Gizenga and the delegation of members of Parliament were about to leave for America, I asked the secretary-general of the United Nations to allow them to travel aboard his plane. As you all know, he refused. Having thus been deprived of any means of securing the necessary transportation, what were we to do? Take wing and miraculously fly to the United States? They say that they are against communism, that they are against the Soviet Union, and yet when we ask them for help, they refuse it and choose instead to help Tshombe and all the people who are hatching plots and making plans to set up another economic dictatorship in our country. That is the sort of campaign that is being waged.

The truth can be hidden, you know, but in the end it will always triumph! [Prolonged applause.] All those speeches in which I am accused of being a communist, in which I am said to be planning to turn the Congo into a Soviet Union, are in fact being written by the Belgians and the French. When I visited the chief of state last Saturday, I discovered Mr. Ghel (?), Mr. Van Bilsen, Attorney Croquez, in a word an entire general staff set up there to draw up all these plans aimed at balkanizing the Congo! [Applause.] And the people must be told of all this. I am not afraid to bring all this to light.

Last Saturday was the last time I had any contact with Mr. Kasavubu. I am going to tell you what brought this meeting about. It took place because of yet another plot I had just uncovered, which had developed as follows: The minister of finance chosen by the Abako went to Geneva with Mr. Delvaux not long ago to negotiate the question of our national bank and that of the funds belonging to us which the Belgians had confiscated, for it had turned out, you see, that whereas on June 30, 1960, the day our independence was proclaimed, our gold reserves amounted to 3,764,000,000 francs, by August 15 all we had left was 1,764,000,000 francs — in other words, the miraculous disappearance of two billion francs that Belgium had deposited in its national bank in Brussels, apparently to set up a bank in Rwanda-Burundi! These underhanded dealings have just been discovered by the mission sent to Geneva. Mr. Delvaux, moreover, is present here and can testify to this, as can the other members of the delegation.

The Belgians now say that they are willing to give this money back to us. Mr. Delvaux telephoned me from Geneva asking my permission to sign the plan drawn up for the national bank, which he thought was excellent. I told him I didn't approve, that it should not be signed but rather brought back here and presented for examination by the council, which would study it point by point and line by line and after having approved it would submit it in turn to Parliament. Mr. Delvaux did as I asked; the plan was brought

back to us by the delegation, which I received this past Friday. The minister of finance and Mr. Delvaux informed me of the situation at a meeting of the council. Article 6 of the plan, which describes the Monetary Council that is to run the bank, stipulates:

The Monetary Council is to be headed by a temporary director appointed by the chief of state on the recommendation of the secretary-general of the United Nations. It is also to include a treasurer and four members appointed by the chief of state on the recommendation of the minister of finance, in consultation with the United Nations.

[Expressions of disapproval from the Chamber.]

I have told the minister of finance and Mr. Delvaux that this is unacceptable and that I will never approve. We are a sovereign state; we will create our own national bank. Why should it be the secretary-general of the United Nations who appoints a director for us, the end result of which will be that all the powers will be privy to our policy and our financial situation and will thus be able to plot together to bring about a devaluation of our money? This is out of the question. It is up to us, to our government, to choose people we trust to run our bank; it is not up to the secretary-general, who could force on us men who might be spies. If we need experts, we will send out a call for them ourselves; no one can force us; where will our independence have gotten us if our bank, the very source of the vitality of our state, is to be run by foreigners? Since the council did not approve the plan, we turned the project over to a special commission that is to reexamine it; this commission is made up of Mr. Nguvulu and other ministers. At that point, certain members of Parliament needed copies of the speeches I delivered at the opening and closing of the Pan-African Conference. I sent the texts to the Printing Office of the Republic so that a number of copies could be made. I called the director of the printing office and asked him to do this, and he apologized and said: "I'm still working on a very urgent job, printing five hundred copies of a text setting up the national bank." I was astonished to hear him men-

tion printing the text of the law creating the national bank when the government had not yet signed it and Parliament had not even debated it. I asked him to show me the text. I read: "Joseph Kasavubu, President of the Republic: Know all men by these presents . . ." and saw that the text was signed by the minister of finance. Is the government to be held responsible for such acts, when neither it nor I have any knowledge of them? The chief of state and the minister of finance — who is a Mukongo — have made a deal between the two of them to create a national bank with the participation of the secretary-general of the United Nations. *[Boos and shouts of disapproval from the Chamber.]* The moment I discovered this, I wrote the following letter:

Note for Mr. Nkayi (the proof of his guilt is that he is absent from today's session):

Mr. Minister, I am surprised to learn that you have submitted to Parliament a draft law creating a Central Congolese Bank without notifying me and without the government's having reached a decision on this matter. This draft law, which has not been approved by the government, has already been sent to the printing office to be printed. In the course of the meeting held yesterday, September 2, 1960, which you attended, the Council of Ministers decided to submit the plan for setting up a national bank to a special commission for examination. This commission has not yet presented its conclusions. No draft law can be submitted to Parliament without prior approval from the Council of Ministers, which is responsible for the government's policy.

I wish an immediate explanation of the foregoing.

If what I am telling you is false, let Mr. Delvaux, who was present and who went to Geneva with the minister of finance, tell us what the truth is. How could this draft law, which is being examined by the commission, have already been sent out to be printed? The minister of finance, Mr. Nkayi, tells me that he was not the one who sent it out to be printed, but that perhaps it was the chief of state; the only thing he had done was prepare a dossier on the subject for me! I telephoned the chief of state; I went to see him in his office

on Saturday, and we talked of certain problems having to do with the general situation, among other things. I even told him about the situation in Kasai, where Monsignor Nkongolo had left Luebo and headed for Bakwanga, dressed in civilian clothes, because he had been appointed a general in Mr. Kalonji's army!

["No! No!" the opposition protests, while the majority smiles; Mr. Nzeza-Landu makes a move to leave the Chamber, shouting insults, and several members of the opposition follow his example.]

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER. Mr. Nzeza-Landu, you do not have permission to leave.

MR. LUMUMBA. Honorable deputies, you know how it is in life: when a person runs out of valid arguments, he resorts to insults. *[Applause.]*

Monsignor Nkongolo was distributing arms in Bakwanga and was arrested. I had received a telegram from the Sûreté informing me of this. I mentioned this to the chief of state so that he too would know what was going on in Kasai. I said to him: "Here's a telegram I've just received from Kasai. The monsignor has left Luebo and gone to Bakwanga; he was caught distributing arms there. What do you think of that?" After having discussed this incident, I made him the following proposal: "In view of the seriousness of the situation at this time, I believe that we should see each other as often as possible from now on, and that a little inner circle made up of a few ministers and ourselves should meet from time to time to examine what is happening, so we can arrive at decisions together, and I will then pass them on to the council, so that you can take part in the government's action, though you will not be held responsible for it." I added that I would prefer that certain provisions of the Fundamental Law be disregarded while we worked out a way of collaborating more and more closely on the executive level. He told me that he agreed, and that it was a very good plan. It was at this point that I mentioned the draft law that had been sent to the printing office. "How does it happen, Mr. President, that you've

signed this draft law when I wasn't the one who submitted it to you?" I asked him. He replied that he had no idea what was going on, that he didn't know a thing about it, and asked me to give him the text so he could see what it was all about. I refused and promised to send him a photocopy and said I'd look into the matter further. That was on Saturday, September 3.

I wrote another letter to Mr. Nkayi.

Mr. Minister of Finance:

With reference to my letter no. — of September 3, 1960, I spoke with the chief of state last Saturday. He claims that he knows nothing whatsoever about the submission to Parliament of the draft law on the creation of the national bank. The situation is thus quite plain: it is proven fact that it was your own office that submitted this draft law, which had not been approved, to Parliament. I believe that you are aware of the seriousness of such an act. I want a reply from you immediately. I must bring this affair before the council and ask it to pass judgment.

This letter was written on Monday. *[Lumumba shows it to the Assembly.]* Up until that moment, nothing had happened between the chief of state and me; there had been no criticism of any sort. While I was at my home, I was suddenly notified that the chief of state had just given a speech on the national radio announcing my dismissal. I was astonished, for if he had had any explanations, any remarks, any criticisms to communicate to me, I had been with him the Saturday before and he should have brought them up: "Mr. Prime Minister, I am not in favor of the policy you are following in this area or that; isn't there some way to change it? Couldn't you act, rather, in this way or that?" If at that point I had refused his advice and thus caused dissension between us, he could then have brought the affair before Parliament, which after due deliberation could have dismissed the government, as was its right and its right alone.

Article 22 of the Fundamental Law, which states that the chief of state appoints and dismisses the prime minister and the ministers,

is the sort of provision that exists in every constitution in the world; that of Belgium also says that the king appoints and dismisses the prime minister and the ministers, but in no case has the king, who is the "Sovereign King," the "Constitutional Monarch," in his country ever dared do such a thing; whereas in our country, the chief of state is only an elected official and has no right to dismiss a government simply because he so pleases; that is not done! [*Prolonged applause.*]

After hearing this news, I went to the national radio studios, for I doubted very much that it was true: Mr. Kasavubu was a man I'd gotten along with so well up till that moment! When I got to the Information Service Office, I found out that it was true: they had the text of the speech, signed by Kasavubu. He had read it and left it there. I told myself that even under the most fascist dictatorship in the world, you couldn't dismiss even a petty official by simply giving a speech on the radio and declaring: "I've dismissed so-and-so." Such a president would be dangerous, and a step such as this clearly goes beyond even those taken under totalitarian regimes. When a chief of state is planning on dismissing the government, he calls the head of it in and tells him why. In every country in the world, if there is a government crisis it is Parliament that must resolve it. But what does our chief of state do? He gives a speech over the radio and says:

"My dear compatriots, I have an extremely important piece of news to announce to you. The prime minister, *who was appointed by the king of the Belgians* —"

That is a lie right there. Was it the king of the Belgians or was it you here who appointed me?

"— has betrayed the mission assigned him." This is to try to tell the people that Lumumba is not a minister democratically elected by the people; it was King Baudouin who put him in office. "He has resorted to arbitrary measures which have sown discord within the government and among the people." What government does he mean? My entire government has been in perfect accord, and is so

as we deliberate here today. And what sort of discord have I sown among the people? Since June 30, all we have done is fight against the enemies of our independence.

"He has governed arbitrarily. . . ." He has no proof of this whatsoever. "He has deprived many citizens of fundamental freedoms and now he is plunging the country into a frightful civil war." In his view, our wanting to get Katanga back into the republic so as to liberate our brothers is a frightful civil war, because he has been consorting with Tshombe. Whereas the fact of the matter is that the Central Government's victory in Katanga is a victory over imperialism. "That is why I have deemed it necessary to dismiss the government immediately, and I do so by virtue of the constitutional powers vested in me."

Noticed the contradiction. The text of the speech in which he announced that he was dismissing the government does not bear the signature of a single minister; here is the document. [*The prime minister shows the text of the chief of state's speech to the Assembly.*]

MR. MOPIPL. We are here to build, not to destroy. [*A stir in the Chamber.*]

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER. Order, order, it is dangerous. . . .

MR. LUMUMBA. Honorable deputies, if you have come here to shout, you can howl like chimpanzees and none of us will be able to hear each other, for everyone has a mouth. . . .

"I have appointed Joseph Iléo prime minister, and he is to take office immediately. Mr. Iléo is to form the new government." So the new government is already in power! There is no such thing for him as a vote of confidence by Parliament; there is nothing. He sent for Colonel Mobutu this morning; the colonel came, and the chief of state handed him an order which reads:

We, Kasavubu, Joseph, Chief of State, in view of the provisions of the Fundamental Law of May 19, 1960, and in particular article 22 of this law, hereby order:

Article I. Mr. Lumumba, Patrice, member of the Chamber of Deputies, is to be removed from his functions as Prime Minister and from any other ministerial function.

Article II. Messrs. Mwamba, Rémy; Gbenye, Christophe; Kashamura, Anicet; Bolamba, Antoine; Gizenga, Antoine; and Lumbala, Jacques, are removed from their functions, those respectively of Minister of Justice, Minister of the Interior, Minister of Information, State Secretary for the Ministry of Information, Vice-Prime Minister, and State Secretary in the Office of the President of the Council of Ministers.

Article III. Mr. Iléo, Joseph, Senator, is appointed Prime Minister, Minister of National Defense, and Minister of Justice. [Boos from the Assembly.]

Article IV. Our Prime Minister, Iléo, Joseph, is to be responsible for the execution of the present order, which is to be effective immediately. [Boos and laughter from the majority benches.]

Executed in Leopoldville, September 5, 1960.

This document is false; he drew it up when he realized that the government had denounced the illegal nature of his act.

Dear members of Parliament, between us, as brothers, without passion, setting all party considerations aside, whether they be those of the MNC, the PSA, the PNP, or the Abako — I ask you: didn't Mr. Kasavubu insult Parliament by his action? [Yes! Yes!] Did he have the right to do such a thing? [No! No!] Even if the government no longer has the confidence of Parliament, it is a member of the majority who is called upon to form the new government; this is what is always done in every country, for the majority party can be assured of obtaining a vote of confidence from Parliament. If just any individual is asked to form a government, he will come before Parliament all by himself; he may have bought off two or three deputies for 100,000 francs, but he will never have the confidence of Parliament because he does not have the majority required. The leader asked to form a government, after first consulting the various parties and having assured himself that he has a majority, presents his mission to the chief of state and informs him that he has the required majority to go before Parliament in order to obtain its vote

of confidence. It is only after such a vote that the chief of state appoints the head of government, and in no case is such a step taken before the leader forming a government has obtained a vote of confidence from Parliament. These are simple notions of basic procedure that have escaped Mr. Kasavubu, or else his advisers, such as Van Bilsen, who is at his side at every moment, have made him take this plunge.

[Someone hands the prime minister a message from the chief of state addressed to Mr. M'Buyi, minister of middle classes.]

MR. LUMUMBA. The chief of state has just written a letter. See — everybody recognizes Mr. Kasavubu's signature. [He shows the letter to the Assembly to prove that it is authentic, and then reads it.]

Mr. Joseph M'Buyi
Minister of Middle Classes
Leopoldville

Mr. Joseph M'Buyi, Minister:

Please note that the ministers are present. We have the honor of informing you that a council of those ministers who have not been dismissed will be held in our residence this Wednesday, September 7, at four o'clock sharp. We will preside over this extraordinary council. We are counting absolutely on your being there.

The President of the Republic, Kasavubu.

Here is the declaration of the Council of Ministers. Look, everyone [he shows it], it bears the signatures of all the ministers, with the exception of two or three traitorous individuals:

We the undersigned, Ministers of the Central Government, have learned of the order, which is illegal in and of itself, signed by the Chief of State and countersigned by Ministers Delvaux and Bomboko, dismissing the Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba; the Vice-Prime Minister, Antoine Gizenga; Ministers Kashamura, Anicet; Gbenye, Christophe; Mwamba, Rémy; and State Secretaries Bomamba, Antoine and Lumbala, Jacques. The other Ministers not affected by this irreversible decision solemnly declare their total support for their Prime Minister Lumumba and all their other col-

leagues in the government. The entire government stands as one, as constituted on June 23, 1960. This may well be a question of machinations to divide the government on the part of those who are seeking only to exploit our country.

We declare that changes in the ministerial team can be made only by the Prime Minister, who alone is responsible for the policy of the government before Parliament and the nation. Changes in the government will be made immediately upon receipt of suggestions from Parliament.

Executed in Leopoldville, September 7, 1960.

[*Applause.*]

In his speech Mr. Kasavubu addressed the national army:

I ask another thing. I can formally assure the members of the national army, the constabulary, and the police, as well as civil servants, that they will be paid all the wages due them and be provided the rations that some of them have gone without. I ask the national army to put an end to all fractricidal quarrels once and for all and to lay down their arms temporarily.

This is an act of high treason! A chief of state or head of government cannot ask the army to lay down its arms. Our chief of state is doing so in order to allow foreign powers to occupy the country militarily. [*Applause from the majority benches and protests from the opposition.*]

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER. Order, order.

MR. LUMUMBA. This is also an insult to our national army, which has been vigilant in recent days. I assure you, gentlemen, you owe your lives to these soldiers; they are the ones who have saved you. [*Applause.*] Why would we allow soldiers, even from friendly African countries, to come and occupy our country while our own soldiers sit around doing nothing? That is disgraceful! If you feel that you're not mature enough to safeguard our independence, you should say so publicly. [*Applause.*] Who can count how many times our soldiers have been humiliated? We demanded that they guard the buildings on our airfields; they are our national pride; but the United Nations troops took over the control towers and treated our

soldiers like little children! Can a nationalist tolerate such a situation? When someone comes to help you, he doesn't seize power; he doesn't take over all the positions of leadership and run the government! Mr. Lundula, a general in the national army appointed by the chief of state, Mr. Kasavubu, flew to Stanleyville yesterday on a peacemaking mission. When he returned, the United Nations troops threatened to fire on the plane he was on if it landed at N'Djili airport! The plane had to turn back; we do not know whether it ran out of gas or not on the return flight; there is no news of the general. If he should happen to be killed in an accident, who would be responsible? The United Nations.

As soon as the announcement by the president of the republic was broadcast, Mr. Kamitatu, who was visiting Gungu, radioed that he sided with the Central Government, that it had his total support, and that the entire populace of the province of Leopoldville disapproved of the decision of the chief of state. [*Applause.*] Mr. Kamitatu's executive secretary worked with us throughout the night, and asked me to send a plane for the provincial president. I made arrangements with Sabena and secured a plane. The United Nations troops refused to allow the plane to go get Mr. Kamitatu, and thus the provincial president was practically a prisoner. He is unable to return for the moment, and neither is General Lundula. You should see what state the airport at N'Djili is in. The United Nations troops have occupied it and strung barbed wire all over it. And that was Lumumba's doing too! [*Applause.*] I went to the national radio station that same day, and United Nations soldiers tried to keep me out. A Swedish officer followed me all the way to the broadcasting studio and told me I couldn't go on the air. I asked him what right he had to brazenly forbid me to speak on our national radio. He threatened to telephone general headquarters. I then said to him: "Sir, we don't want any trouble. Get out of this studio; you're meddling in an internal affair—the very argument you use to refuse us your services; the Belgians are going on with their underhanded maneuvers in Kasai and you don't say a word, but you're

in a big hurry to take over our radio and usurp our power." I wrote three letters yesterday asking for help from the United Nations special representative; Minister Kanza went to see him with a delegation; the vice-president of the council called on him at 11 P.M., but he refused to answer our appeal; he categorically refused to see us. As far as the United Nations is concerned, there is no government any more; it is going to run the government itself! People are asking why the national radio isn't broadcasting any more — have we closed it down? I have spoken with soldiers who have said: "We can't obey the chief of state's orders; none of us can lay down our rifles; we're all still on our feet!" Isn't that proof of the confidence that the people and the army have in the government? *[Applause. A number of members are restless and complain that the session has lasted too long.]*

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER. Listen, Mr. Madudu, be patient; it will be your turn to speak in a little while.

MR. LUMUMBA. Honorable deputies, you yourselves said at the beginning of the session that we'd stay here till midnight if necessary. The nation's people have the right to know everything.

Gentlemen, I will go on with what I was saying a moment ago. You are here to pick a quarrel; you think you're acting as an opposition party, but that's not what you're really doing: you're in the service of the imperialists.

There are a great many illegalities in the order removing us from office signed by the chief of state and countersigned by two ministers, Mr. Bomboko and Mr. Delvaux. Moreover, I regret the incidents that the latter was the victim of this morning. He will be the first to tell you that to date I have always worked with him in a spirit of brotherhood and collaboration. I believe that he is sincere. There is no reason to cast stones at one another. On the seventeenth of last month, when he was in Europe, he wrote me:

"My dear Patrice: As you know very well, I have always personally fought you and attacked you in the past. I apologize, and

want you to know that from now on we will live as brothers, and I am anxious to meet with you and tell you so personally."

I have never had any bone to pick with Mr. Delvaux; he is well aware of the spirit in which I have worked with him. Please remember the fact that Parliament asked that two to four ministers be removed from office. I still have its motion requesting me to dismiss Mr. Bomboko and Mr. Delvaux, is that not true? Didn't you pass such a motion? And I am the one who saw to it that this step was not taken. I told Mr. Delvaux that I didn't want to dismiss these ministers and that I would try to bring about a reconciliation with Parliament. Thus if I had been against Mr. Delvaux, he would no longer be minister today; the same is true of Mr. Bomboko, for you were the first to condemn them publicly here, and even now pressure is being brought to bear on me to dismiss them.

According to the Fundamental Law, which has just been so admirably interpreted by the honorable deputy Mr. Kama, I could even ask an international jurist to come here to enlighten us on certain points of law. Such a jurist would also tell you that the act perpetrated by the chief of state is illegal.

When article 22 states that the chief of state appoints and dismisses, this applies only under certain conditions. What does article 21 state? "The chief of state has no powers other than those specifically granted him by the present law. He exercises these powers, in particular those mentioned in articles 16, 22, and 32 — including the right of dismissal — only under the conditions set forth in articles 17 and 20." His right is thus subject to the conditions laid down in these articles. Moreover, since the decrees of the king or the chief of state, in Belgium for instance and in every country as a matter of fact, must be countersigned by a minister who thus becomes responsible for them, this means that if the king draws up a decree having to do with finances, the minister of finance must countersign it; and if the act falls within the province of the minister of foreign affairs, the latter must countersign it; everyone stays within his own domain and within the powers granted him by law.

When the government was formed, I myself, as head of government, appointed Mr. Delvaux resident minister in Belgium. Mr. Delvaux was thus a sort of ambassador in charge of relations between my government and that of Belgium. Within the Congolese government, Mr. Delvaux therefore has power to act only in matters concerning the Congo and Belgium. Given the fact that we decided to break off diplomatic relations with Belgium, it was impossible for Mr. Delvaux to assume his functions. He has no portfolio within the government at present; he has become a minister without portfolio, so to speak. I therefore told him to give us a hand from time to time and to help the vice-president of the council deal with specific questions I turned over to him. Mr. Delvaux thus has no power, no legitimate authority to sign an order of dismissal. This is not the only case of an invalid signature. Like Mr. Delvaux, Mr. Bomboko, who has the portfolio of minister of foreign affairs, has no authority except within the strict limits of diplomatic relations, of international relations. And the definition of the powers I endowed him with stipulated the precise limits of his competence. His signature is appended for form's sake only and thus is in no way legally binding.

When exactly does the government fall? The government falls only in those cases prescribed by articles 42, 43, 44, 45, and 46.

Article 43 stipulates: "The responsibility of the government as a whole can be called into question by the presentation of a challenging motion."

Our government's responsibility has never been questioned by Parliament. On the contrary, on the twenty-ninth of last month, the Senate passed a motion of confidence in the government and gave it full power to govern the country and contact the leaders of the United Nations.

"Such a motion can be entertained only if it is signed by at least one fifth of the members of either Chamber.

"A vote may not be taken until forty-eight hours after the motion has been presented.

"Without prejudice to the application of article 56, paragraph 3, the challenging motion is to be adopted only if it receives [either two thirds of the votes of the members present in one of the two Chambers] or the absolute majority of votes of all the members of each of the two Chambers." In order for a vote to be taken, an absolute majority of the Chamber of Deputies, for example, must be present.

Article 44 stipulates: "If a challenging motion is adopted under the conditions stipulated in article 43, the ministers will submit their resignations to the prime minister."

If these articles are invoked, an involved procedure must be followed: if the government no longer has the confidence of Parliament, the ministers are obliged according to the law to submit their resignations to the prime minister, who transmits them, along with his own resignation, to the chief of state, because it is impossible for a government to remain in power when it no longer has the people's confidence. Once I have the resignation of each of the individual ministers, I add my own to them, and go find the chief of state and say: "I no longer have the confidence of the nation; I am handing you my resignation." Until such time as a new government is formed, the law further stipulates, business at hand will be dealt with by the government that is resigning.

Article 45 stipulates: "The individual responsibility of members of the government is called into question by the presentation of a motion to censure." This was the case when the dismissal of Ministers Delvaux and Bomboko was requested; a motion to censure any specific minister must call for his resignation.

Article 46 stipulates: "The censure of a member of the government is to result in his resignation. It need not necessarily result in the resignation of this government." It is only if I no longer had the confidence of the nation, as I have just explained, that all the ministers would hand me their resignations, to which I would add my own, and submit all of them to the chief of state. Meanwhile the chief of state would find a leader representing the majority of

the nation to form a government, and the latter would present his team to Parliament to obtain its confidence, first of all, for no one can exercise power unless he has previously been invested with such power by the supreme authority of the nation, which is Parliament. If all the conditions prescribed by the articles cited have been met, then and only then does the chief of state apply article 22, in accordance with the vote of the Chamber. He will give as his reason the withdrawal by Parliament of its confidence, and will then have the power to decree: "We the undersigned, etc. . . . dismiss the government, in accordance with article 22." Otherwise the decree is not legal and cannot be binding, for in such a case we would not be respecting the nation, or its institutions, or democracy. The government may make mistakes, for every government in the world is fallible. Whether in Belgium, the United States, or anywhere else, the role of the opposition is to criticize the government, and that of Parliament is to supervise its action, for it may be wrong and make mistakes even though it is following a sound policy. Parliament is there to point out these mistakes and call upon either the prime minister or the minister responsible, as the case may be, to answer for his actions, whether the matter in question is the overall policy of the government or a matter having to do with judicial affairs, for example, in which case it is the minister of justice who should be called to account. We still lack experience with regard to our parliamentary duties. Every time a minister makes a mistake in his particular department, there are those who cry: "Oh, the government is bad, we must throw it out of office." Any government you will ever have, whatever its nature, is going to make mistakes, even more serious ones than the present government is accused of making. And if you dismiss the government every time it makes a mistake, you are going to have twenty to thirty governments a year!

What is the practice in Europe, particularly in the case of a minister who is derelict in his duty? One or several deputies ask the officers of the Chamber to summon the minister to appear before it; the minister in question is notified and told the reasons for his

being summoned to account for his actions. After a specified period, the minister appears before the Chamber. He is thus not summoned without warning and obliged to explain himself immediately; he is allowed a certain period of time. This is why when you read the minutes of the Belgian Parliament you will see that a certain period of time elapses before the minister appears to answer for his actions — sometimes it is even as much as a month later — because he is given time to prepare his explanation and plan the exact reply he will present to the Chamber. A minister cannot be summoned and obliged to explain himself the minute he makes a mistake, under the pretext that Parliament is the supreme authority. This is never done.

I am not criticizing you, nor are you criticizing me — we are simply learning. The government has never — absolutely never — refused to cooperate. You should be quite aware that if the Congo were broken up, I would be the first to benefit, because on the party level alone, the MNC will be represented in the six republics and can even control two or three provinces where it is the majority party. I thus would have every reason to stay at home and be perfectly content. Those here crying for a republic in this or that province won't even be presidents. So there is no point in my ambitiously seeking honors since I have no need of them. If the government, this government that is now in power, does not make an effort, the Congo tomorrow will not be what it is today. All these people who keep talking to you about unity through confederation are trying to pull the wool over your eyes, to hoodwink you; they are whites who have designs on our country, who want to break up the Congo, who recommend it, and certain of our brothers go along with this for sentimental reasons, for reasons of pride! But to take just one example: the Mali Federation, which was to bring about unity. What has happened to this federation today? What has happened to the unity of Mali that everybody talked so much about? Wasn't it France that was behind all that? As you know very well, it would be easy for me to say that I am willing to leave the government and

wouldn't regret it, but if I were to do so today, the Congo would explode tomorrow; I make no secret of that fact, for I know the schemes that are afoot. As a matter of fact, all the great Western powers are bending every effort to bring this about. Russia — Moscow — that is only an excuse; the question of the planes is also only an excuse. People in the West know that as long as the present government is in power they have no chance of getting control of the economy of our country. The entire army is in the hands of Congolese today; who would have the courage to try to seize control? All these people, even certain members of the opposition who are raising a hue and cry here, haven't dared to do so, and are therefore still collaborating with the Belgians. *[Applause.]*

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER. Mr. Colin, you will have a chance to speak in a moment.

MR. LUMUMBA. Mr. Colin, I refuse to take part in any discussions concerning Mr. Kasavubu. It seems to me that as a person I prefer him to a great many other Bakongos.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER. Mr. Prime Minister, please tell me if you have finished so that I can give the floor to other speakers.

MR. LUMUMBA. Gentlemen, the entire army is one hundred per cent in the hands of Congolese today, as are the police and the administration. Isn't this true independence? Millions of francs have been raised to wage a campaign against me on the radio, and tracts are being written and handed out every day to wage psychological warfare. I am called every sort of name so as to fool the people: Lumumba the dictator, Lumumba the communist, Lumumba Moscow and all sorts of other names. Do you think the people will let themselves be fooled?

MR. COLIN *[from his bench]*. The Ministry of Information leaves something to be desired.

MR. LUMUMBA. As regards information? There's no lack of information, sir; it's because you want them to go on singing hallelujahs on the radio — *[Applause.]* You know, Mr. Deputy, when you have

the confidence of the people, you'll be minister of information. I know what you're up to; you're unhappy because you weren't appointed minister of information, that's all. *[Protests from the opposition benches, laughter from the majority benches.]*

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER. Order, order. Please continue, Mr. Prime Minister.

MR. LUMUMBA. Certain people have swung into action and a transmitter, "The Voice of Freedom," which cost millions and can be heard every day on the same wavelength as the national radio, has been installed here with the complicity of the Mukongos; another one has been installed in Katanga. The two poles — Katanga and the Lower Congo — are waging a campaign against the government. Who is giving them the money — isn't it the imperialists? *[Applause.]*

We have also spoken recently of Lovanium University. We wanted it to become a state university. All of Lovanium, all the students have mobilized and have recently held meetings all over for Mr. Kasavubu, with his knowledge. *[Answering a member of the Abako who asks him a question about the aim of these meetings from his bench, Mr. Lumumba replies:]* No, no, they are holding meetings to give him. . . . Do you know what I'm talking about? Do you want me to tell you about everything that's happening? *[Another member of the Assembly asks him a question about the tracts and the press.]* As for these tracts, gentlemen, I point out one thing to you: we are for democracy. We decided to control the freedom of the press, although this step was not aimed primarily at the Congolese press. No one can claim that the *Courrier d'Afrique* is a newspaper belonging to a Congolese. Is there anyone here who does not know that the *Courrier d'Afrique* is an organ of the Syndicat Chrétien of Belgium? That it is a tool for propaganda against the people — is there anybody who doesn't know that? They roped in Mr. Makoso, our brother, to use him as a propaganda tool. Is that what you call freedom of the press? We therefore decided to

regulate all these publications that are against the nation, that are against blacks; we have passed an ordinance preventing the entry of *Europe-Magazine* into the Congo, for instance. Read this weekly, read *Libre Belgique*: what did they say about Mr. Kasavubu? Kasavubu is a hoodlum, Kasavubu is this, Lumumba is that. Of all of us, is there anyone the Belgians respect? Reread the back issues of Belgian papers and see what they had to say when Kasavubu left the Round Table. Didn't they say all sorts of terrible things about him? And still you want these papers to continue their propaganda against the nation here in our country! The minister of information is present; he can give you the list of papers that have asked permission to publish; my dear honorable deputies, not a single one that requested permission has yet been refused. We want to regulate, we want to control all this, and know who are the editors responsible at law for these newspapers. Papers with Belgian interests behind them are attempting to sabotage our independence. They use our black brothers as fronts. Mr. Bakoso appears on the masthead as the editor of *Courrier d'Afrique*, but the real editor has recently appeared before the general prosecutor; I have been told that it was Mr. Vandeputte (?), that he is the one who writes all the articles in this paper. Vandeputte doesn't want his own name to appear. Who built the printing plant of the *Courrier d'Afrique* — was it you? Well, it wasn't Makoso either. Makoso has signed a statement that he is not the author of all the articles published in the *Courrier d'Afrique*.

MR. COLIN [from his bench]. Yes, yes, I know. . . .

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER. Go on, Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Colin, you will have the floor next.

MR. LUMUMBA. So freedom of the press is guaranteed; anybody can publish a newspaper. Dear brothers, I would rather die preaching the truth than live telling lies, and I will never be afraid to speak the truth. It is all these Catholic groups waging their propaganda in their papers who are stirring up all the trouble that we are going

through; should we permit this state of affairs? And then when measures are taken to free you, you call it dictatorship! [Applause from the majority benches.]

I for my part will ask this of the opposition: we now have a kind of constituent assembly, and the colonialists have left; let us prepare to hold elections and you'll see that we'll win. [Prolonged applause from the majority benches.]

Certain deputies are raising a hue and cry and saying untrue things about the government, but the entire nation is with us, millions of people are behind this government!

MR. COLIN [from his bench]. Go to the cité. . . .

MR. LUMUMBA. What's happening in the cité? It's you who have been organizing the few signs of discontent on the part of certain individuals; there is nothing spontaneous about them. Moreover, Leopoldville isn't the whole Congo; you always think that the Bakongos are the whole Congo! [Applause from the majority benches.]

I will make you the following proposal: we'll take a plane with you tomorrow and visit the entire country; you'll see how we'll be received. There are even some Bakongos who are for us. Everything being done here is fascism to impress foreign journalists and make them believe that there's something going on. People out of jobs are egged on and exploited; they're given twenty or fifty francs and told: Go do this or that — so that foreigners who witness these acts will believe there's opposition when there really isn't any. [Applause from the majority benches.]

Yes, yes, there's proof. Is there anything they haven't tried? Millions of francs were offered certain ministers; then Mr. Kasavubu invites them to his home. Are they at his house? Will they go there? Not one of them. What did the Belgians do before the government was formed? They said: "Lumumba, you're not going to form the government, Kasavubu is." The latter has done everything possible; millions of francs have changed hands. Did he succeed? Do you

think he'll succeed now without us? [*Applause from the majority benches.*]

To conclude, dear honorable deputies, I know all of you and you know me, we are all freedom fighters, we have all suffered a great deal; it is only a lack of understanding that divides people. Let us understand each other in order to march in step, for we are pioneers in the building of the nation. The future of the Congo depends on us, on this team of members of Parliament and members of the government. The future depends on the position we take today. Our enemies have long divided us, and they are dividing us today; mistakes have been made on every hand. Certain deputies are even going into the territories and trying to oust the administrators. What would you say if I pointed out grave errors committed by deputies and senators, when the Fundamental Law specifically provides for a separation of powers? The legislative power belongs to you: you are here to deliberate and vote on laws, your sphere of action is limited to Parliament, and your duty is to supervise the government. The government and the administration have executive power, and there is also judicial power. But what is happening? Certain deputies or senators — who may perhaps not be acting in bad faith — encroach upon the domain of the executive when they are in the interior of the country and create a conflict of powers when they say: we are the ones who appoint the ministers.

Gentlemen, we must be able to work as a team. I have told the presidents of the Senate and the Chamber that the best formula we could devise would be to set up a commission composed of certain members of the Chamber, the Senate, and the government, to examine the overall situation.

It would decide on certain measures and suggest them to the government, and this would enable the deputies and the senators and everybody to have a part in the practical and effective management of the country's affairs. [*Applause from the majority benches.*]

The Council of Ministers met yesterday; we realized that as far as our patrimony, our entire economy is concerned, we have no

idea where we are heading, since the colonialists have done everything possible to plunge us into poverty. When there is talk against Lumumba, you may be sure that Lumumba is only a scapegoat and a *bête noire*; it is not Lumumba they're out to destroy, but you and the future of the Congo. And we must now appoint government commissioners immediately in all the para-state organizations, because we must control our economy through the bank, Otraco, and Regidesco. In every large company there should be a government commissioner possessed of full political power to direct the company. I have also told the president of the Chamber that I would prefer to have members of Parliament appointed to control the entire economic life of the country. It is up to you to present us the names of candidates for this post or that; thus members of Parliament will not just sit here passively watching what is being done, but will also be working effectively as the nation's elected representatives. If there is close collaboration, many errors will be avoided. We still have a large number of ambassadorial posts; we need at least sixty ambassadors to represent the state. An ambassador is more than a minister. We need competent men. Where are we going to find them at this point? Among the members of Parliament. It is up to you to suggest their names to us. We members of Parliament must now travel throughout Africa and Europe, go through a period of apprenticeship, go on information-gathering missions all over, in order to gain personal experience and get the facts. I am not attempting to hide the fact that for the moment we are playing the imperialists' game. Whatever errors may have been committed by the government, by Mr. Kasavubu, by one deputy or another, we are playing the imperialists' game; they are taking advantage of this situation to create a so-called opposition in order to exploit us again and divide us even more. When you see what the journalists who are here are going to write, you'll be amazed. [*Applause from the majority benches.*]

Tomorrow, when all the chips are down, we'll be crying and they'll be off in their own countries having a good time; they'll

say that they got the better of us by dividing us. Do you think the Congo is a paradise and therefore I won't ever make a mistake? If Mr. Massa or anybody else becomes prime minister, he'll make continual mistakes too. [*Applause from the majority benches.*]

The delegation headed by Mr. Massa sent me a telegram from Kasai suggesting another commission; that is a constructive piece of work, and in fact I did not turn the suggestion down. The government must be helped, and it in turn will help the country. If you see that a minister is incompetent, it is up to you to help him by offering advice and suggestions. Unlike what happens in other countries, we have received no suggestions from Parliament at any time. If you note, for example, that the minister of information is restricting civil liberties, send us a letter of protest. If the government falls short of what you want it to be, you can condemn it. Since this government has been formed, we have scarcely slept — ask our friends; we act as police, as constables; our soldiers scarcely sleep. We have just frozen funds amounting to twenty million francs to pay our soldiers; but the minister of finance has taken the keys away with him and we have no way of getting the money; isn't this sabotage against the nation? When I formed the government, I told you frankly that our policy was one of neutrality. We don't want to have anything to do with any bloc; the Congo will never be French, Russian, or American; we don't want that. We don't want to have anything to do with colonialism, ideologically, intellectually, or economically. We want to remain Congolese, Africans. But the imperialists are very powerful. [*Applause from the majority benches.*]

The imperialists are very powerful; they have lots of money and we are still weak politically; we let ourselves be fooled, we let ourselves be influenced in all sorts of ways. When we were struggling here, when I was thrown in prison because I was demanding immediate independence, was it the Russians who were advising me to do so? [*"No! No!" several members shout.*]

When our brothers were struggling throughout the country, was

it the Russians who were egging us on to demand independence? Who exploited us for eighty years — wasn't it the imperialists? They considered the Congo and its riches their national hunting preserve. When the French, the Americans, and the Belgians come to the Congo, the imperialists applaud them, whereas they considered the arrival of the Russians a heinous act.

Queen Elisabeth of Belgium is president of the association for Russo-Belgian friendship. Is she a communist? [*Applause from the majority benches.*]

I recall a time not long ago when the president of the Belgian Chamber of Deputies, Mr. Kronacker, went to Moscow. Radio Prague announced this. Did people call him a communist? Was he accused of having sold Belgium out to Russia because he made this trip? But today, if Lumumba or Gizenga or any other Congolese goes to Moscow, the entire press raises a hue and cry. They can go to Moscow, but not Negroes! The son of the Belgian minister of foreign affairs is now in Moscow, studying at the university. Members of the Belgian Parliament go on missions to Moscow every year; they get along fine with each other; but when we want to go, they advise us not to. Why? Haven't we the right to travel wherever we want to? Either we are a sovereign state or we are not. We must remain neutral, that is to say, we must follow neither American policy nor Russian; we must remain in our rightful place: the middle. [*Applause.*]

It is because I have refused to give them concessions that would enable them to continue their exploitation that they call me a communist; I'm not one! I remind all of you that my parents were married in the Catholic Church. My family is Catholic. My children attend the Leopoldville Athénée, where classes in the Catholic and Protestant religion and ethics are given; my children are being given a Christian education and are enrolled in classes where Catholic doctrine is taught; you can go verify this. [*Applause from the majority benches.*]

In Africa anybody who is for progress, anyone who is for the peo-

ple and against the imperialists is a communist, an agent of Moscow! But anyone who approves of the imperialists, who goes out looking for money and pockets it for himself and his family, is an exemplary man; the imperialists will praise him and bless him. That is the truth, my friends.

The members of the government know what I am; I am merely a nationalist, pure and simple, and I know that we are going to accomplish something magnificent. The representatives of the African states who met together at the Leopoldville Conference said that Leopoldville is not only the capital of the Republic of the Congo, but of all of Africa. [*Applause.*]

According to our African wisdom, our Bantu custom, what do children who have fought with each other do? They get together in the evening, forget what has happened, make their peace with each other, and eat together. Let us not disgrace the Congo. All these foreign journalists here [*he points to them*] say that we took our seats in our Parliament *without having any experience*, that we are children, that we don't know anything; they insult us. They keep saying that we are incapable of governing the Congo.

I hope that we will set up a commission tonight, one made up of a few very wise individuals, of a few members of the government, to examine the situation in the Congo. This is all that interests us. If changes must be made in the government, as you have said, we are going to obey your wishes. I believe that the Congo must live up to its role, because attempts are being made to put it under international control. It is unfortunate that the chief of state can take it upon himself to say: no more army, and ask the United Nations to take care of everything. Where is our independence, where is our sovereignty then? We have asked that control of our airfields be entrusted only to Congolese; I went out to N'Djili and found some forty paratrooper commandos hiding out there; they had to be rounded up and driven out by force; they were being hidden there, and you are well aware of this. Others have been discovered hiding out with the missionary fathers. I also have telegrams here

sent me from Aketi by Deputy Bocheley informing me that he has also discovered Belgian paratrooper commandos there among the UN troops.

In order to take over our control tower, the United Nations chased out six Congolese employees and replaced them with two Belgians and four Canadians. I went out there personally and asked these gentlemen why they had done so; didn't this control tower belong to our sovereign country? I had the six Congolese take over their posts again immediately so as to control all the planes coming in from Brazzaville.

We asked the United Nations for help, and now it is seizing power! [*Shouts of "No! No!" from a number of members.*]

When the chief of state says, "The United Nations is going to give us money," we reply: "We don't want this money; we may die of poverty; but we are willing to die; we refuse to let our country be bought for money any longer." Our domestic situation is healthy; we are going to put everybody to work as soon as the Belgian troops have cleared out; we only want them to leave us in peace. [*Applause.*]

Are you aware of the vast plot being hatched against our Congo? Our enemies are seeking to dismember the country at any price, beginning with removing the head, because they know that this government is strong; it has stood the test thus far and if it is removed from power, forming another will be difficult. What will happen if this government falls? Anarchy and civil wars. Our MNC-PSA-Balubakat majority still exists; how will they manage to topple us? I swear to you that they are simply trying to cause a war. I was to go to New York on September 20 to head the delegation that will represent us at the triumphal admission of our republic to the United Nations Organization. The French are taking advantage of this and telling Youlou: You can show up at the same session and put forward the name of your republic.

There would thus be two Republics of the Congo, which would delay our country's admission to the United Nations. It is the

French who are plotting our eventual downfall. It would then be said that there is no longer a government in the Congo, that the Congo is no longer a state, that its admission to the United Nations will be examined later. And meanwhile the United Nations will take over trusteeship. *[Applause.]*

Gentlemen, I assure you and swear to you that all this is a plot to prevent the Republic of the Congo from entering the United Nations.

We have a majority in the country. Do you know what will happen if the effort to topple our government is successful? The people will react and create disorder. The United Nations will take away our sovereignty and impose a trusteeship, and we will be slaves again. Do you remember what happened in Korea and other countries? After a country has attained its independence, the imperialists stir up quarrels among its nationals and eventually divide it up.

Dear brothers, the time has not yet come to engage in this sort of destructive opposition; let us unite because we are all part of the same country; let us examine this situation together. It is more serious than you think. You are capable of saving this country; it is a question of will. Let us forget everything that has heretofore divided us; show us our mistakes and tomorrow they will all be rectified.

As for the dividing of the country into provinces, what reasons would I have for not allowing there to be twenty provinces tomorrow, if that were your express wish? If I am prime minister, it is because the country has elected me, it is because you have elected me. If Parliament decides on a system, whether it be a federal one or a confederate one, I cannot oppose it, but this must be done through legal channels.

Until such time as Parliament decides, the government cannot allow anyone to flout the law, not even deputies or senators. If this government acted otherwise, it would not deserve your confidence. What party, what people have ever demanded the creation of a

province and had their demand refused by Parliament or the government?

What is Mr. Kalonji doing in Kasai? He is now claiming that this region is no longer a Congolese province but the Independent Republic of "Bakwanga"; it is no longer "Minière Province." Can you permit such behavior?

Mr. Moanda, an Abako deputy, sent me a letter one day bringing up the possibility of setting up a group that would be called "The Special Committee of Bakongo" and would have its headquarters in the Lower Congo. This group would have sole rights to exploit the mineral wealth of the Lower Congo, its sources of energy, concessions, absolutely everything; it would thus be a private company superseding the legal authority of the province. I believe that some of you read this in the newspapers.

I sent the following reply to Mr. Moanda: "The creation of such a group falls within the competence of the Provincial Government. I have no right to authorize you to set up a company that is against the interests of the nation and will take over powers belonging to the province. And if you persist, I will send a copy of your letter to the chief of state and have you arrested." And for that I'm being called a dictator. You can see, gentlemen, that all these things they are doing are no longer just opposition; they have even tried to sabotage the Provincial Government. If I were a weak man, Kamitatu would no longer be in office; there would no longer be a PSA Government; it would have been destroyed by force. Some young Bakongos came to me a week ago and said: "Mr. Prime Minister, please set up a guard around the power stations of Zongo and Sanga immediately, because partisans of the Abako have made arrangements to form their own government, and if you are opposed, they will take these stations over and cut the power lines so the city won't have any electricity." *[Certain members of the opposition question the accuracy of this report, the deputies of the Abako in particular. Addressing the latter, Mr. Lumumba goes on:]*

This is true; I am certain of it; I have documents proving it. Ba-

kongos have come to see me — don't get the idea all the Bakongos agree with you. [*Applause from the majority benches.*]

Honorable deputies, I have explained the situation to you, clearly and plainly. I have never had any intention of lying; I will not lie. The situation is serious. Let us not discredit ourselves; let us not discredit our country. The future of the republic is endangered. Our soldiers have almost nothing to eat; they are saying: "Laying down our arms is out of the question, but if we must, give us orders to go back to our villages." They insist that it is a disgrace for us to send soldiers from other African countries to Katanga in their stead. Troops from Thysville, and even Bakongo commandos, are all telling me: "Mr. Prime Minister, if you don't give us permission to go back to Katanga we're not going to obey you and will leave on our own."

The Kasai Affair

No one can say that I gave orders to go there and take any sort of action; I never did. You are quite aware of the Lulua-Baluba conflict, which started well before independence; was I the one who caused it? [*The majority answers, "No! No!"*]

And the imperialists have now taken advantage of this conflict and gotten their hands on Bakwanga and its rich diamond deposits. You have no idea of what is going on there, dear brothers. You are playing a dangerous game, and I warn you that you will pay the consequences tomorrow. One of our proverbs says: "If somebody spits in the air, his saliva will fall on his chest." I appeal to your wisdom, to Bantu wisdom. This commission I spoke to you about will be set up this evening, and we must find practical solutions. I am convinced that the government has your confidence and that of the people, because it has not betrayed the country. [*Prolonged applause.*]

Lumumba continued to have an overwhelming majority of the Chamber behind him. Once more, the power of his words had

backed the opposition into a corner. To those who had the privilege of following the parliamentary debates, it was obvious that Lumumba dominated the entire political scene and that no one in Parliament could stand up to him. Moreover, he completely overpowered his opponents because of his ability to make decisions instantly, and worked so hard that no one around him could keep up with him. But a moment was to come when his amazing physical resistance was weakened by weeks of insomnia. His adversaries then gained ground and finally destroyed him.

On September 8 the Senate met, with Mr. Okito (who was also to be murdered in Elisabethville) presiding, from 10:00 A.M. to 3:20 P.M. After debate that was often tumultuous, the Senate confirmed Lumumba's triumph, by a vote of 41 for, 2 against, and 6 abstaining. That same evening, Kasavubu declared this vote null and void, and that of the day before supporting Lumumba in the Chamber as well, and again declared that he was dismissing the government. But on the ninth, at the Congolese National Army's Camp Leopold, Lumumba declared that the vote of the two Chambers authorized his assumption of his new functions as chief of state and commander-in-chief of the army. On the tenth, Mr. Iléo, who had been appointed prime minister by Kasavubu, announced that the new ministerial team was being formed, and on the night of the eleventh the list of ministers was made public, but this government made no attempt to secure the approval of the two Chambers.

Lumumba tried at this point to get his delegation, led by Thomas Kanza, recognized by the United Nations, but on the eleventh the Ghanaian troops of the United Nations prevented him from speaking on Radio Leopoldville. This incident provoked an exchange of letters with President N'Krumah of Ghana. President N'Krumah's letters are reproduced below.

On September 12, Lumumba was arrested and then set free by the soldiers three hours later. The moment he was released, he tried once again to enter the radio studios, but United Nations troops

prevented him from doing so. Lumumba immediately sent the following message by telex to the African chiefs of state:

Thirty minutes ago, I went to the radio station to address a message to the people in order to reassure them that I was no longer under arrest. I was again confronted with the categorical refusal of the United Nations to allow me to do so. The soldiers guarding the radio station even tried to shoot me. It should be noted that Mr. Bolikango gathered the leaders of the insurrection together and went to the radio station this afternoon, where the United Nations authorities gave him permission to speak. I am sending out an alarm so that all friendly countries may come to our aid. The republic is in immediate danger because of the concerted plot hatched by a minority of the populace with the visible support of imperialist circles. The United Nations authorities are directly responsible for these serious incidents. We are dedicating ourselves, without a moment's rest, to the task of restoring order in the country.

On the thirteenth, the United Nations lifted its special security measures, but Bolikango announced over the radio that Lumumba would soon be brought to trial for his "reign of terror."

On this same day, September 13, Lumumba sent a telegram to the secretary-general asking for immediate military aid and threatening to call for help elsewhere if such aid was refused.

In order to counter the aggression perpetrated this day against Prime Minister Lumumba for the express purpose of provoking strife that will cause bloodshed in the country, and in order to ward off other attacks that are being planned behind the scenes under the instigation of certain powers, the government of the Republic of the Congo urgently begs you to furnish forthwith the following aid: twenty airplanes and crews for them, a large quantity of arms and ammunition (in view of the fact that the Belgian troops have seized arms belonging to many of our troops and the latter there-

fore have no weapons whatsoever), and a powerful radio transmitter, since the United Nations has unjustifiably taken over our national radio network, thereby depriving the government of the possibility of contacting the populace.

Given the fact that the United Nations Organization does not wish to aid the government in restoring law and order and calm in the interior of the country, declaring that these are internal conflicts in which the United Nations cannot intervene to bring about a settlement, the government finds itself obliged to request such aid. We cannot allow the country to be plunged into destitution and chaos as a result of the refusal of the United Nations to intervene. Should the aid that we have requested be refused, the government will find itself *obliged to request such aid elsewhere*. We impatiently await a reply, which we hope will favor the cause of restoring peace in the Congo.

PATRICE LUMUMBA

THREE LETTERS FROM PRESIDENT N'KRUMAH TO PATRICE LUMUMBA

Accra, September 12, 1960

Dear Patrice,

Thank you for your letter, sent through the intermediary of Mr. Djinn, with regard to the refusal of my troops to allow you to use the facilities of Radio Leopoldville yesterday. This was a regrettable incident, but I believe that the reason why the troops behaved in this way was the fact that they are under the orders of the United Nations for the moment. I am tired of the way the United Nations is treating you. But as you may perhaps already know, I have taken steps in this regard. I have asked the United Nations to hand over the broadcasting transmitter and the airports to you. I have also asked the United Nations to recognize you as prime minister and head of government of the Republic of the Congo, and if this is not done, I have indicated that I wish to withdraw my

troops, which will then join yours, and at the same time I will call on all the independent states of Africa to withdraw their forces and create a Supreme Pan-African Command so as to aid your troops. We are making a tactical move so that world opinion will support us come what may.

I have asked Mr. Djin and some of my officers to go see you and assure you of my personal concern with regard to this matter and of their willingness to act in your favor as soon as I send them word to do so.

Ever yours,
(signed) N'KRUMAH

His Excellency Mr. Patrice Lumumba
Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo
Leopoldville

Accra, September 12, 1960

My dear Patrice,

I appreciate your point of view perfectly, and I can see and understand the difficult situation you find yourself in with regard to the Ghanaian troops in Leopoldville. I too find myself in an embarrassing and vexing situation because of the way in which my Ghanaian troops are being used in the Congo, even though I am fighting tooth and nail, day and night, in your favor.

As you will see from the text of a note I sent a moment ago to the secretary-general of the United Nations, which I quote below for your information, I have already taken measures to confront the situation. I urge you, I earnestly beg you to be patient and calm. Everything will turn out all right, providing that neither you nor I take hasty steps. If the Ghanaian troops are to be put entirely at your disposal, then you and your government must find some way of declaring that Ghana and the Congo are as one in this fight. This is the only way that will allow my Ghanaian troops to operate legitimately with Congolese forces.

Here is the text of my letter to Mr. Hammarskjöld:

The situation in the Congo at this moment is very embarrassing and vexing for Ghana in its relations with the legitimate government.

In the beginning, Ghana went to the Congo in order to aid Mr. Lumumba's legitimate government, which invited Ghana to assist Mr. Lumumba. When the United Nations went to the Congo at Mr. Lumumba's invitation, Ghana agreed to put its troops under the command of the United Nations. The subsequent course of events has falsified the real objective and seriously weakened Ghana's position in the eyes of the legitimate government of the Republic of the Congo, due to the fact that at present the Ghanaian troops are being used only as a tool against Mr. Lumumba, preventing him from using his own national radio transmitter. At the same time, Radio Brazzaville, which is controlled by France, a permanent member of the Security Council, is being allowed to broadcast the most violent sort of propaganda against Mr. Lumumba's legitimate government. Radio Elisabethville, which is in fact under Belgian control, is likewise being allowed to broadcast the same sort of propaganda. Thus Ghana is being taken advantage of in order to virtually tie Mr. Lumumba's hands, while a permanent member of the Security Council is being permitted to lash out at him. In view of these circumstances, therefore, if Mr. Lumumba is not allowed to use his own national radio station in Leopoldville to keep the Congolese populace informed of the critical situation and thus marshal support for the legitimate government of the Republic of the Congo, of which he is the head, Ghana will immediately withdraw its troops from the command of the United Nations and reserve the right to place its troops at present in the Republic of the Congo at the complete disposal of Mr. Lumumba's government, the legitimate government of the Republic of the Congo.

Yours very sincerely,
(signed) N'KRUMAH

His Excellency Mr. Patrice Lumumba
Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo

Accra, September 12, 1960

My dear Patrice,

Enclosed you will find two communiqués that will cheer you

up in this time of trial that you are going through — the first concerns General Alexander, my chief of staff, and the other is my note to the Security Council regarding the diabolical attempt to dismiss you and the legally constituted government of the Congo of which you are the legitimate head.

My envoys, Mr. Botsio and Mr. Welbeck, returned from Leopoldville yesterday and have told me everything that is going on there. I am sending Mr. Welbeck back with this note regarding the policy to be followed in order to protect our position and safeguard the unity of the Congo.

The first point I would like to call to your attention once again is that in view of the fact that you were obliged to form what was essentially a coalition government and concern yourself with the Tshombe, Kalonji, and Kasavubu problems, along with others that have not yet come to light, and in view of the fact that the colonialists and imperialists are doing their utmost to recover lost ground in the Congo, you cannot allow yourself the luxury, my dear brother, of being severe and intransigent. Don't oust Kasavubu right now. This will lead to serious disorders, especially in Leopoldville, at the very moment that you want calm to reign there. Don't raise a hue and cry about this treason now, nor even about Tshombe's treachery. The moment will come when you can see to it that they get their just deserts.

Let sleeping dogs lie. Leave these people alone for the moment. Also, *don't draw up any new constitutions now*, I beg you. This will only compromise your position and put Tshombe and the dissidents in a position to stir up the coals and make trouble.

Be "perfectly calm," get the administration on a firm footing, and consolidate your position before taking the next step. I would be the last person in the world to advise you to make any sort of compromise, but the extremely critical situation in the Congo requires you to adopt what I would call "tactical action." That is to say, while you shouldn't agree to abandon any of your principles, you should adopt methods that would allow you to work with even

your most bitter political adversaries in order to gain enough time to *consolidate your position* on the organizational level, that is to say, on the government level, both that of the Central Government and that of the Provincial Government, and the party, before taking the next step.

What I said to you before is said in the same spirit, and I must repeat it as emphatically as I know how: Namely, you should not expel the United Nations troops until you have *consolidated your position*. You can then ask them to leave. I am aware of the difficulties you are facing in regard to the United Nations, with which, as you will see, incidentally, when you read the enclosed note for the Security Council, we are scarcely dealing gently. But if the United Nations troops leave now, you will not be able to confront the chaos that will follow, for it will be deliberately furthered by the colonial powers, the Belgians, and the other imperialists who are working hand in glove with reactionaries in Belgium.

The third important point is that you must get your administration on a firm footing soon so that people feel that they have security and have work to do. You must set up immigration and customs services in all the seaports and airports immediately. Fortunately, there is the United Nations, which has plenty of funds and will help you. You must therefore start setting up the organization that you mentioned in your press conference two days ago, you were planning to create, so that you can take advantage of the aid promised you. Obtain this aid, and make sure you control it. Whatever political quarrels you may have with your adversaries, a hungry people with no jobs will not continue to go hungry without reacting. They will soon take action and follow anyone who can give them "bread and circuses," as the ancient Romans put it, or anyone who merely promises to do so.

My dear Patrice, these are my three urgent basic suggestions. The situation is critical. If you move quickly in this direction, it will be saved. If you procrastinate, no one knows what will happen. I beg you to take note of my suggestions and to face the domestic

situation squarely, for only you can remedy it, provided you follow my suggestions. As for your foreign relations, especially with the Security Council and the United Nations, let me see what I can do. You may rest assured that I will marshal the Afro-Asiatic bloc and other friendly nations and get them to support you on every score, as they are supporting you now that efforts are being made to remove you from office.

And now a few supplementary suggestions.

First of all, your cabinet is too large, but it would not be wise to reduce its size right now. What you had best do in the meantime is establish a sort of inner cabinet, which you might call the Cabinet Commission, for instance, to deal with urgent matters. The emergency situation confronting the country, which requires that decisions be made quickly, as in wartime, gives you a good reason to form such a group.

Here, in my opinion, is how this commission ought to be set up:
Cabinet Commission:

1. Prime Minister and Minister of Defense and of Foreign Affairs: President.
2. Vice-Prime Minister: Vice-President.
3. Minister of the Interior: Member.
4. Minister of the Local Government: Member.
5. Minister of Technical Assistance: Member.
6. Commander of the Army: Member.
7. 8. 9. Three other Ministers: Members.

Cabinet Commission:

Object:

1. To deal with the state of emergency.
2. Political and military affairs; airports.
3. Katangese and Kasai affairs.
4. Relations with the United Nations.
5. Technical assistance; approval of the policy and program.
6. Urgent affairs.

As you will see, because of the urgency of the situation and the fact that you have a great many dealings with the United Nations and the Security Council and so on, I have also given you the portfolio of foreign affairs. But I advise you to find two trustworthy comrades, one for the post of assistant minister of defense and the other for the post of assistant minister of foreign affairs, both to be under your direction.

You can hold ordinary cabinet meetings with all your ministers once a week for current government affairs; but the inner cabinet, that is to say the Cabinet Commission, ought to meet every day. You must keep the Cabinet informed of the decisions made and carried out, however. Certain important affairs dealt with by the Cabinet Commission ought to be submitted to the entire Cabinet for its approval in order to have the full support of all your ministers.

Your Technical Assistance Commission might be set up as follows:

Technical Assistance Commission:

1. Vice-Prime Minister: President.
2. Minister for Technical Assistance: Member.
3. Minister of Local Government: Member.
4. Minister of Commerce: Member.
5. Minister of Labor: Member.
6. Minister of Public Works: Member.
7. Minister of Industries: Member.
8. Minister of Mines and Natural Resources: Member.
9. Minister of Communications: Member.

Technical Assistance Commission:

Object:

To cooperate with the United Nations and other agencies and countries for the rapid and effective utilization of any technical assistance offered.

The commission is to meet jointly each week with representatives of the United Nations to prepare programs for utilizing such aid, to be submitted to the Cabinet for approval before execution.

As principal executive officer of the program, the minister for technical assistance must have adequate authority to act rapidly and effectively within the framework of approved programs and policy.

I now come to the question of the Force Publique, Patrice. I admire what it has accomplished and would not like to see it disarmed. However, it must have competent and well-trained cadres if it is to meet your needs.

I urgently beg you not to expel the United Nations troops before you have gotten the Force Publique in shape. Their provincial loyalties are strong, and certain groups among them are inclined to follow the ministers of their region. Moreover, at present you do not have enough rations or equipment, etc. So in view of the money the imperialists are pouring into Katanga, plus the threats from Kalonji, Kasavubu, and others, counting absolutely on the Force Publique at this critical moment is extremely risky.

It is absolutely necessary to train your officers immediately. Will you therefore please send me your reply to my proposal that your officers be trained here in my military academy.

Finally, a word from you on the radio inviting all the Congolese to forget their differences and unite in the interests of the nation will electrify everyone listening, and will restore both your prestige and the peace necessary to further the development of the Congo. I beg you, my brother, to heed my advice.

Rely on me whenever you are in doubt as to what step you should take. My brother, we've been ringmasters for quite a while now and know how to handle the imperialists and the colonialists. The only colonialist or imperialist I trust is a dead one. If you don't want to bring about the final ruin of the Congo, follow the advice I have just given you. Your stand in favor of a United

Congo and African unity makes you a man of great worth in my eyes. Your friend Mr. Djin is there to help you in any possible way. You could not have a greater admirer or a more valuable helper than he. Trust him, as you always have in the past. He will serve you.

Patrice, I have examined the situation in the Congo very carefully. If you fail, you will have only yourself to blame, and it will be because you won't have faced up to reality, or as the Germans say, engaged in *Realpolitik*. Your downfall would be a terrible blow to the African liberation movement, and you can't permit yourself the luxury of failing. Your policy, which is aimed at "getting rid of your adversaries here and now," will not succeed. You must now take "tactical action." Remember that there are immeasurable forces lined up against you. But the balance is tipping in your favor, and you will succeed, provided you confront the present situation prudently and tactfully.

Yours affectionately,

(signed) KWAME N'KRUMAH

At 2:30 P.M. on September 14, Lumumba broadcast an appeal to the people and the army to "defend our country against imperialist plots and maneuvers." That very evening, Colonel Mobutu announced that Lumumba and Kasavubu had been "neutralized" and that he had decided to close the Russian and Czechoslovakian embassies.

The day before, the Chambers, meeting in joint session, launched an appeal for reconciliation, designated a so-called "conciliation commission," and finally granted the legal government headed by Lumumba "full powers." But the parliamentary records showed that only 116 votes had been cast (including those against), when there were 225 members of Parliament. In his report, Mr. Dayal (Special Delegate of the Secretary-General of the United Nations) expressed his doubts as to the result of this vote. The chief of state

reacted to this by issuing an order on September 14 adjourning the two Chambers for a month and declaring the aforementioned vote unconstitutional.

Colonel Mobutu, Lumumba's former friend and collaborator, chose this moment to "neutralize the politicians." Attempts were then made to reconcile the latter, and on September 18 Lumumba issued the following communiqué.

As a result of the efforts that have been made during the past few days by the Parliamentary Commission of the Senate and the Chamber and the representatives of the African states to reconcile Mr. Joseph Kasavubu, the chief of state, and Mr. Patrice Lumumba, the prime minister of the Republic of the Congo, the two Congolese statesmen yesterday signed a joint declaration that finally puts an end to the Congolese crisis.

This declaration of reconciliation has been countersigned by Mr. Joseph Kasongo, president of the Chamber, Joseph Okito, president of the Senate, and Deputies Sendwe, Weregere, and Kapongo.

This reconciliation so earnestly desired by the Parliament and the nation will allow the institutions and the legally constituted Lumumba government to pursue their normal activities in the interests of peace, security, and national union.

This declaration will be read publicly in a solemn session to be held by Parliament.

Leopoldville, September 18, 1960.

The Prime Minister,
P. LUMUMBA

Kasavubu's office minimized the importance of this text, however. Mobutu for his part announced the creation of a College of Commissioners, and the latter published its "proclamation of constitution" on the nineteenth. The language of this document was inspired largely by its anticommunist bias, and in it the role the

college was to play turned out to be that of replacing the Lumumba government, having pledged its allegiance to Kasavubu, with the approval of Colonel Mobutu.* Thus it was plain to see that the "neutralization" gambit had been inspired by Belgian agents of the Sûreté, who were supposedly working for the Republic of the Congo but whose secret funds helped pay for this anti-Lumumbist campaign.

The college attacked the United Nations, which was guarding Lumumba; on the twenty-second Mobutu demanded the withdrawal of the Guinean and Ghanaian contingents of the United Nations forces, which had prevented the arrest of Prime Minister Lumumba, and on the twenty-eighth he demanded that Mr. Dayal leave the country.

As these events were taking place, certain political figures were talking of the need to organize a national Round Table, the aim of which would be to reconcile the leaders and bring about the necessary mutual agreement, and Mr. Iléo had not rejected the possibility of Lumumba's attending this projected meeting; but Kalonji refused to attend unless Lumumba was in a prison cell, and Tshombe would come only on condition that he would be recognized as the head of an independent state.

On October 10, however, Lumumba was put under house arrest in his ministerial residence in Leopoldville, protected by the United Nations and guarded by Colonel Mobutu's soldiers. He was to remain there until November 27, when he made his escape.

On October 14, the College of Commissioners decided to expel Félix Moumié, a native of the Cameroons, and four Guineans from the country because of a letter sent by Lumumba to Antoine Gizenga. It is known that Moumié was assassinated a short time later during a visit to Geneva.

* Even though the latter was still publicly expressing his discontent as late as September 29, when Kasavubu proceeded with the official investiture of the college.

LETTER TO ANTOINE GIZENGA

Leopoldville, September 5, 1960

My dear Antoine,

I received Comrade Félix Moumié and had a long talk with him.

I expressed my approval of:

1. The hiring of a number of Africans to serve the republic, a list of whose names has been sent you. It will therefore be necessary to send them plane tickets for the trip immediately.

2. The setting up in Leopoldville of a UPC office, the director of which will be Comrade Moumié himself.

You may take any steps you think useful to work out a concrete program to carry out proposals made you by our comrades.

Cordially,

[The signature is illegible, but it is identifiable as Lumumba's when compared to other documents signed by him.]

All during this period, the United Nations and the African governments put pressure on Leopoldville to reconvene Parliament in order to evaluate the situation. But the de facto authorities rejected these demands and continued to call for a Round Table. On November 26, Kasavubu announced in Paris that Lumumba and Tshombe would be asked to participate. Lumumba no longer rejected this idea, as he announced on November 27.

IN FAVOR OF THE ROUND TABLE

I hope to meet soon with Mr. Kasavubu, who has publicly voiced in New York the idea of organizing a National Round Table, which I am to attend as prime minister of the only legitimate government, as will Mr. Tshombe, the president of the Katangese Provincial Government.

Since my one aim is the greater good of the country, I am, and will remain, a fervent advocate of national conciliation and of any solution that will put an immediate end to the present crisis and dissension.

At this coming Round Table I will be very happy to renew my contact with all my brothers in the struggle, who I know share my ideas because all of us place the welfare of our country and our people above and beyond personal considerations and interests. I am thinking particularly of Mr. J. Okito and of Mr. J. Kasongo, the president of the Senate and the president of the Chamber of Deputies respectively, of Messrs. Kamitatu, Finant, Eketebi, Mukenge, Miruho, and Sendwe, respectively the presidents of the provincial governments of Leopoldville, Stanleyville, Coquilhatville, Lulua-bourg, and Bukavu, and the state commissioner of Katanga.

I wish to express the hope that the National Round Table will once again safeguard national unity and the country's territorial integrity, principles that I tirelessly defended long before independence and during the political Round Table in Brussels.

On the same night, November 27, a torrential rain was beating down in Leopoldville, so that a large black car was able to slip past the guards at the prime minister's residence and take him down to the river, where a motorboat was waiting for him. The following communiqué was issued to the press.

COMMUNIQUÉ FROM LUMUMBA CONCERNING
HIS DEPARTURE FROM LEOPOLDVILLE

Contrary to the rumors that have been circulating and even been broadcast over the national radio, I had no intention of fleeing Leopoldville as a fugitive. I officially requested the United Nations authorities, in fact, to arrange for me to visit Stanleyville for one or two days to attend the funeral of my daughter, who died on the eighteenth of this month in Switzerland, where she had been sent

with the aid of Dr. Beck, the chief of the Swiss Medical Mission in the Congo. I should like to add that I had not seen my daughter after her birth and will now never see her.

My trip was thus strictly for family reasons, and is to be of brief duration, for I intend to return to Leopoldville where I shall await the arrival of the Peacemaking Commission.

I hope, moreover, to meet soon with Mr. Kasavubu, who has publicly voiced in New York the idea of organizing a National Round Table, which I am to attend as prime minister of the only legitimate government, as will Mr. Tshombe, the president of the Katangese Provincial Government.

Since my one aim is the greater good of the country, I am, and will remain, a fervent advocate of national conciliation and of any solution that will put an immediate end to the present crisis and dissension.

At this coming Round Table I will be very happy to renew my contact with all my brothers in the struggle, who I know share my ideas, because all of us place the welfare of our country and our people above and beyond personal considerations and interests. I am thinking particularly of Mr. J. Okito and of Mr. J. Kasongo, the president of the Senate and the president of the Chamber of Deputies respectively, of Messrs. Kamitatu, Finant, Eketebi, Mukenge, Miruho, and Sendwe, respectively the presidents of the provincial governments of Leopoldville, Stanleyville, Coquilhatville, Luluabourg, and Bukavu, and the state commissioner of Katanga.

I wish to express the hope that the National Round Table will once again safeguard national unity and the country's territorial integrity, principles that I tirelessly defended long before independence and during the political Round Table in Brussels.

Lumumba's departure from Leopoldville coincided exactly with Kasavubu's return from New York, where he had succeeded in having his delegation to the United Nations officially recognized.

That same night, November 27, several MNC ministers also left

Leopoldville: Gbenye, Mpolo, Kashamura, Okito, Mujanay, and M'Buy. The two latter ministers got separated from the convoy and were murdered in Kasai. Mpolo and Okito were arrested in Mushie and transferred to Leopoldville.

The UN vote in favor of Kasavubu had convinced the MNC leaders that the United Nations troops would no longer protect them from arrest. As soon as the news of Lumumba's escape became known, it created a sensation, and the lackeys of colonialism lent Major Pongo of the Congolese Sûreté low-altitude reconnaissance planes to enable them to follow Lumumba's trail along the roads leading through the bush. On November 29 there were reports that he was in Kikwit, the bailiwick of the PSA, and had held several meetings.

*The cars in the convoy were then sighted entering Kasai, and troops loyal to Colonel Mobutu arrested Lumumba. He could have evaded capture, but he refused to abandon his wife, with whom he was making this trip to honor the memory of their dead daughter. He sent this last letter to Pauline Lumumba from prison.**

LETTER TO PAULINE LUMUMBA

My beloved companion,

I write you these words not knowing whether you will receive them, when you will receive them, and whether I will still be alive when you read them. Throughout my struggle for the independence of my country, I have never doubted for a single instant that the sacred cause to which my comrades and I have dedicated our entire lives would triumph in the end. But what we wanted for our country — its right to an honorable life, to perfect dignity, to independence with no restrictions — was never wanted by Belgian colonialism and its Western allies, who found direct and indirect, in-

* The letter was published by the Tunisian weekly *Jeune Afrique*. Serge Michel, a journalist for the Algerian National Liberation Front, who was Lumumba's press attaché during the Congo crisis, was in Tunis at the time.

tentional and unintentional support among certain high officials of the United Nations, that body in which we placed all our trust when we called on it for help.

They have corrupted some of our countrymen; they have bought others; they have done their part to distort the truth and defile our independence. What else can I say? That whether dead or alive, free or in prison by order of the colonialists, it is not my person that is important. What is important is the Congo, our poor people whose independence has been turned into a cage, with people looking at us from outside the bars, sometimes with charitable compassion, sometimes with glee and delight. But my faith will remain unshakable. I know and feel in my very heart of hearts that sooner or later my people will rid themselves of all their enemies, foreign and domestic, that they will rise up as one to say *no* to the shame and degradation of colonialism and regain their dignity in the pure light of day.

We are not alone. Africa, Asia, and the free and liberated peoples in every corner of the globe will ever remain at the side of the millions of Congolese who will not abandon the struggle until the day when there will be no more colonizers and no more of their mercenaries in our country. I want my children, whom I leave behind and perhaps will never see again, to be told that the future of the Congo is beautiful and that their country expects them, as it expects every Congolese, to fulfill the sacred task of rebuilding our independence, our sovereignty; for without justice there is no dignity and without independence there are no free men.

Neither brutal assaults, nor cruel mistreatment, nor torture have ever led me to beg for mercy, for I prefer to die with my head held high, unshakable faith, and the greatest confidence in the destiny of my country rather than live in slavery and contempt for sacred principles. History will one day have its say; it will not be the history taught in the United Nations, Washington, Paris, or Brussels, however, but the history taught in the countries that have rid themselves of colonialism and its puppets. Africa will write its

own history, and both north and south of the Sahara it will be a history full of glory and dignity.

Do not weep for me, my companion, I know that my country, now suffering so much, will be able to defend its independence and its freedom. Long live the Congo! Long live Africa!

PATRICE

On December 1, soldiers from Port-Francqui came to arrest Lumumba in Bulonga-Mweka and threatened to kill their prisoner. A number of people demanded that he be sent to Katanga, but Nendaka had strict orders: Lumumba was to be brought back to Leopoldville. He arrived there on December 2 at 5 P.M. on an Air-Congo plane.*

Television and newsreel cameramen filmed the hideous scene of the prisoners' arrival at N'Djili, where they were beaten and reviled before the cameras by soldiers who were beside themselves with rage. But there is a serene and proud look on Lumumba's face throughout these terrible moments. He holds his head high as the blows rain down and there is a look of pity in his eyes as he gazes into the cruel faces of these wildly excited soldiers on the rampage.

On the afternoon of December 3, he was transferred to Camp Hardy in Thysville under military guard. Mr. Hammarskjöld interceded and asked Kasavubu to see that the law was respected, and on December 7 the chief of state replied that the trial would be conducted in accordance with civilized practice.

On January 4, 1961, Lumumba smuggled out a message to Mr. Dayal to be sent to the UN. This is the next to last text of the prime minister's that we have.

* Nendaka was a former collaborator of Lumumba's, who had become chief of the Congolese Sûreté. Before the year 1960 was out, he was expelled from the MNC.

LETTER TO DAYAL

Thysville, January 4, 1961

To Mr. Dayal, Special Delegate of the
Secretary-General of the
United Nations, Leopoldville
Dear Sir:

On December 27 of last year, I was pleased to receive a visit from the Red Cross, which has concerned itself with my situation as well as that of the other members of Parliament who are being held here. I reported the inhuman conditions we have been forced to endure to the Red Cross.

Briefly, our situation is this: I am here with seven other members of Parliament — among them the president of the Senate, Mr. Okito — a government clerk, and a chauffeur. There are thus ten of us in all. We have been confined in damp cells since December 2, 1960, and have not once been permitted to leave them. The meals brought to us (twice a day) are very bad; often the only thing I eat for three or four days is a banana. I reported this to the Red Cross doctor sent to visit me; the colonel here in Thysville was present at the time. I have requested that fruit be bought for me with my own money, for the food I am given here is bad. Although the doctor gave his permission, the military authorities keeping me prisoner here have refused to allow this and tell me that they have orders to that effect from the chief of state, Colonel Mobutu. The doctor here at Thysville has prescribed a short walk for me every evening so that I can get out of my cell for a little while, but the colonel and the district commissioner refuse to allow me to do so. The clothes that I have now worn for thirty-five days have never been washed, and I am not permitted to wear shoes.

In a word, we are living amid absolutely impossible conditions; moreover, they are against the law.

What is more, I have received no news of my wife, and do not even know where she is. I would ordinarily have the right to have her visit me, since the Congolese penal code permits such visits.

Moreover, the penal code in effect in the Congo expressly stipulates that the day after the prisoner has been arrested, at the very latest, he must be brought before an examining magistrate who is to investigate the charges; after having been detained five days, the prisoner must be brought before the magistrate again, to determine whether he should continue to be held under preventive detention or not. Whatever the circumstances, the prisoner is allowed to have an attorney.

The law regarding preliminary hearings provides that the person under arrest is to be "automatically" released if after five days the examining magistrate decides that he should no longer be held under preventive detention. This is also true if the magistrate's first decision (which is made five days after the arrest) is not upheld within a period of fifteen days. Since being taken prisoner on the first of December, we have not been taken before a magistrate, nor have we been visited by one. No warrant for our arrest has ever been shown us. We have simply been held prisoner in a military camp for thirty-four days, in cells ordinarily used for military personnel being disciplined.

The provisions of the law regarding preliminary hearings have not been respected.

The provisions of the penal code have not been respected either. This is a purely arbitrary detention; moreover, we should have been granted parliamentary immunity.

That is the situation, and I beg you to pass word of it on to the secretary-general of the United Nations, with my thanks for his intervention on my behalf.

How can peace and order be brought about in the Congo when at the very outset the rule of law, human dignity, and individual human lives are not respected? Until such time as we are brought before a legally constituted tribunal, we are being deprived

of the right every citizen enjoys to plead his case before his country's tribunals.

I remain calm and hope that the United Nations will help extricate us from this situation.

I am for the reconciliation of all the sons of this nation.

I am writing you this letter in secret on poor quality paper.

Yours sincerely,

P. LUMUMBA

While he was a prisoner, several journalists managed to interview Lumumba and record his words. The exact date of the text below cannot be ascertained, but in any event it is the prime minister's last spoken message, which the Italia Canta Company of Rome recorded and sold under the title of "Songs of the Independent Congo and Patrice Lumumba's Last Speech."

Even after so much suffering, Patrice Lumumba still had a grave serenity and once more tirelessly spoke to his people of the possibilities of real salvation, freedom, and unity.

LUMUMBA'S LAST RECORDED MESSAGE

My dear compatriots! Citizens of the republic! Greetings!

I am certain that you will rejoice today to hear the voice of a man who has vowed never to betray his people.

In good fortune as in bad, I will always be at your side. It is with you that I have fought to liberate this country from foreign domination. It is with you that I am fighting to consolidate our national independence. It is with you that I will fight to safeguard the integrity and the national unity of the Republic of the Congo.

We have made a choice, that of serving our country loyally and faithfully. We shall never depart from this path. Freedom is the ideal for which, in all times down through the centuries, men have fought and died. The Congo could not fail to experience this truth,

and it is thanks to our heroic and glorious struggle that we have valiantly won our independence and our dignity as free men.

We were born to live in freedom, not in slavery as we did for eighty years. Eighty years of oppression, humiliation, and exploitation. Eighty years during which the inhabitants of this country were arbitrarily robbed of the enjoyment of their most sacred rights. It was in order to put an end to this disgrace of the twentieth century that colonialism represents and in order to allow the Congolese people to govern themselves and manage the affairs of their country themselves that we fought a decisive battle against the usurpers of our rights.

History has proved that independence is never handed a people on a silver platter. It must be wrested away. But in order to wrest away our independence, we were obliged to organize and mobilize all the living forces of the country. The Congolese answered our appeal and it was thanks to this pooling of our energies that we were able to deal decadent colonialism a mortal blow.

Since the forces of liberation always win out over that of oppression, we emerged victorious. All peoples have had to fight for their freedom. This was the case for the nationalists who headed the French, Belgian, Russian, and other revolutions. . . .

The former colonies of America were liberated in this way. I remind you here of the Declaration of Independence adopted by the Congress of the United States in 1766 [sic], which proclaimed the overthrow of the colonial regime, the united colonies' liberation from the British yoke, and their transformation into a free and independent state. The Congolese nationalists have thus merely followed in the footsteps of the French, Belgian, American, Russian, and other nationalists. We have chosen only one weapon for our struggle: nonviolence. The only weapon that would bring victory in dignity and honor. Our watchword during the liberation campaign was always the immediate and total independence of the Congo.

We have never allowed ourselves to show hatred or hostility toward the former occupiers. We have fought the regime and not individual persons. We are well aware, moreover, that nothing lasting is ever built in hatred and bitterness. Our one political program has always been the Congo for the Congolese. Congolese affairs in the hands of the Congolese, aided by technicians willing to serve the country, whatever their nationality.

As a member of the great human family, the independent Congo must not isolate herself.

No country in the world, moreover, can live without the help of others. For us racism and tribalism must be fought because they constitute an obstacle to the establishment of harmonious relations and ties between men and between nations.

By attaining our independence and taking our country's affairs into our own hands, we have never intended to expel the Europeans who have settled among us or seize their property. Quite the contrary, we have always believed that they would adapt to the new realities and bring the young state the benefit of their experience in the field of commercial, industrial, technical, and scientific endeavor.

My government has solemnly pledged that it would guarantee the safety of the person and property of foreigners.

The companies that are indispensable to the economy of this country must function normally and enjoy greater security. Our political independence will not benefit the inhabitants of this country if it is not accompanied by rapid social and economic development. We have rejected the policy of domination and chosen that of cooperation and collaboration on an equal footing, with mutual respect for the sovereignty of each state.

We have also chosen the policy of positive neutralism, and in pursuit of this positive neutralism we intend to maintain friendly relations with all nations that respect our sovereignty and our dignity without meddling in our affairs in any way.

We are against the policy of power blocs, which we believe are harmful to the cause of peace in the world and interfere with the strengthening of ties of friendship between peoples.

The powers that are fighting us or fighting my government, under the false pretense that they are fighting communism, are in fact concealing their real intentions. These European powers favor only those African leaders who are tied to their apron strings and deceive their people. Certain of these powers conceive of their presence in the Congo or in Africa only as a chance to exploit their rich resources to the maximum by conniving with certain corrupted leaders.

This policy of corruption whereby every incorruptible leader is called procommunist and every leader who is a traitor to his country pro-Western must be fought.

We don't want to tag along with any bloc. If we aren't careful, we will risk falling into a neocolonialism that would be as dangerous as the colonialism that we buried last June 30. The imperialists' strategy is to maintain the colonial system in the Congo and simply change the cast, as in a stage play, that is to say, replace the Belgian colonialists with neocolonialists who can be easily manipulated.

That is what the imperialists would have us do to obtain their blessing and their support.

As I have always said, I am very much in favor of Belgian, American, French, German, Swiss, Canadian, Italian, or other private companies setting up here to do business. But what I will always violently oppose is dishonest machinations to corrupt and divide us.

We are Africans and wish to remain so. We have our philosophy, our customs, our traditions, which are as noble as those of other nations.

To abandon them merely to embrace those of other peoples would be to depersonalize ourselves. Our objective, that of every Congolese patriot who truly loves his country, must be to unite and

build our nation through mutual understanding and national harmony.

Our immediate program must be to exploit the riches of our country through a common effort and thus create a national economy that will permit us to rapidly improve the standard of living of all our citizens.

We are determined to contribute to the liberation of Africa, the land of our forefathers, through our union and our solidarity.

Our wish, that of all men and women of this country, is to bring about the reign of peace and order that each of us needs in order to live happy lives and truly reap the fruits of independence.

If the Congolese united before independence in order to combat the colonialist oppressor, it is their duty today to unite in order to stand up to the enemies of this independence. Our salvation lies in unity and work. No single person has sufficient strength to build this great Congo all by himself.

The enemies of our country are eyeing us. The whole world is watching us. We must save the honor and the reputation of our valiant people without delay. We did not demand our independence to fight with each other and kill each other, but solely to build our nation in unity, discipline, and respect for all.

That is why, dear compatriots and comrades in the struggle, I call upon you in a spirit of brotherhood to put an end to fratricidal wars, internal and intertribal quarrels, the rivalries between individuals and between brothers. Our children will judge us harshly if out of blind heedlessness we do not thwart the maneuvers to profit from this dissension and sabotage our national independence and slow down the economic and social development of our state.

Many nations are ready to help us, but in order for this aid to be effective, we must first restore order in the country and create favorable conditions for this cooperation.

Such is the message of a man who has fought at your side so that this country may go ever forward and effectively play its role as the standard-bearer of African liberation.

Onward, men and women citizens, to the building of a united, proud, and prosperous Congo.

A radiant future is dawning on our horizon.

Long live the independent and sovereign Republic of the Congo!

On January 8, 1961, the civil authorities of Thysville were hoping to transfer Lumumba to another location, for they were afraid of the influence he was having on the soldiers in the camp.

On the thirteenth the soldiers did in fact rebel, and the situation was so confused that Kasavubu, Bomboko, Nendaka, and Mobutu rushed to Thysville, for there had been a rumor that the prime minister had been freed and was returning to Leopoldville. All the prisoners' cells had been unlocked by the soldiers, but Lumumba was the only one who refused to flee, for he suspected a trap. And he was right to do so, for European agents, adopting a cruel trick that had taken many innocent lives in Algeria, had set things up so that there would be an "attempted escape" during which Lumumba would be shot. But Lumumba's avoidance of this trap merely postponed his final ordeal.

He had escaped death many times; he had confronted hostile groups all by himself since July 1960. His sheer physical courage amazed all observers. On two occasions Baluba soldiers who were determined to kill him had been swayed by the fiery spirit and the eloquent words of this tall, thin, fascinating black man.

During October and November 1960 he had left his residence several times and toured the immense black section of Leopoldville in a car, stopping to address the crowds, even though he knew that most of them were Bakongos. His daring was beyond belief, and a sort of legend that he was invulnerable had sprung up among the people. But this was only a legend, and by murdering him shortly thereafter the Katangese mercenaries thought they had put an end to it.

On January 14, rumors spread in Leopoldville that Lumumbists were planning to attack the city. On the sixteenth a plan to trans-

fer the prisoner to Bakwanga was discussed by the College of Commissioners, and another to transfer him to Brazzaville, but F. Youlou refused.

Everyone knew that the prisoners' arrival in Bakwanga would result in hideous torture scenes. They would undergo the same fate as the MNC leaders who were later to be murdered on February 13, 1961. The massacres of Bakwanga haunted everyone — acts of sheer savagery, which the South Kasai authorities called "tribal justice."

On January 17, a representative of the Congolese Sûreté came to the camp and told Lumumba, Okito, and Mpolo that a coup d'état was about to take place in Leopoldville and offered to escort them back to the city to take power. Lumumba was still convinced that he would come out on top in the political crisis, and according to the UN report he agreed to leave Thysville and go to the airfield at Lukala, where "he was apparently put on a small plane belonging to the Belgian company Air-Brousse." The plane landed at Moanda, and it was only then that the prisoners realized that they were in the hands of their enemies.

They were beaten and reviled, and then put on a D-C 4 belonging to the Air-Congo Company, with a Belgian as pilot. The latter declared that the prisoners were tied together and beaten all during the flight from Moanda to Elisabethville. They were beaten so severely in fact that "the Belgian crew became so nauseated that they locked themselves in the cockpit."

Their arrival in Elisabethville was even more gruesome. Witnesses testified that countless blows rained down on the prisoners the moment they were taken off the plane and that they were thrown into a Katangese army jeep surrounded by a large police detail led by Belgian officers.

Tshombe confessed to Mr. Berendsen that in the end he gave the Leopoldville authorities who wanted to get rid of these bothersome prisoners his permission to do so. Certain Pilates thus washed their hands of the whole affair.

As on July 12, 1960, Munongo, the Katangese minister of the interior, a sinister figure, was at the airport. At that time he had refused Kasavubu and Lumumba permission to land. And now he was about to cynically win a personal victory, and end the extraordinary life of the Congolese leader who was the very symbol of genuine African revolution and the death throes of imperialism.

The trucks, jeeps, and armored cars left the Luano airport immediately, eluding the UN patrols, and disappeared in the darkness.

Belgian officers and Katangese soldiers then executed Mpolo and Okito in an isolated house under construction a few miles from the airport. As his comrades fell to their knees and prayed to God, Patrice Lumumba remained on his feet, heroically gazing into the eyes of the unspeakable brute who was to pierce him with his bayonet before a hail of bullets killed him.

The prime minister of the first government of the Republic of the Congo was dead.

The entire world was shaken by this assassination. Millions of people throughout the Afro-Asiatic world, Europe, and America cried out in indignation.

The African masses wept for this young man who embodied the hopes of the Black World and was the living symbol of the freedom of the oppressed.

The texts of Patrice Lumumba's that we have gathered together here will hopefully play their part in perpetuating the memory of this militant, the prophet of negritude, whose example will inspire the African and Congolese revolution.

JEAN VAN LIERDE